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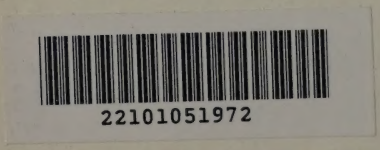
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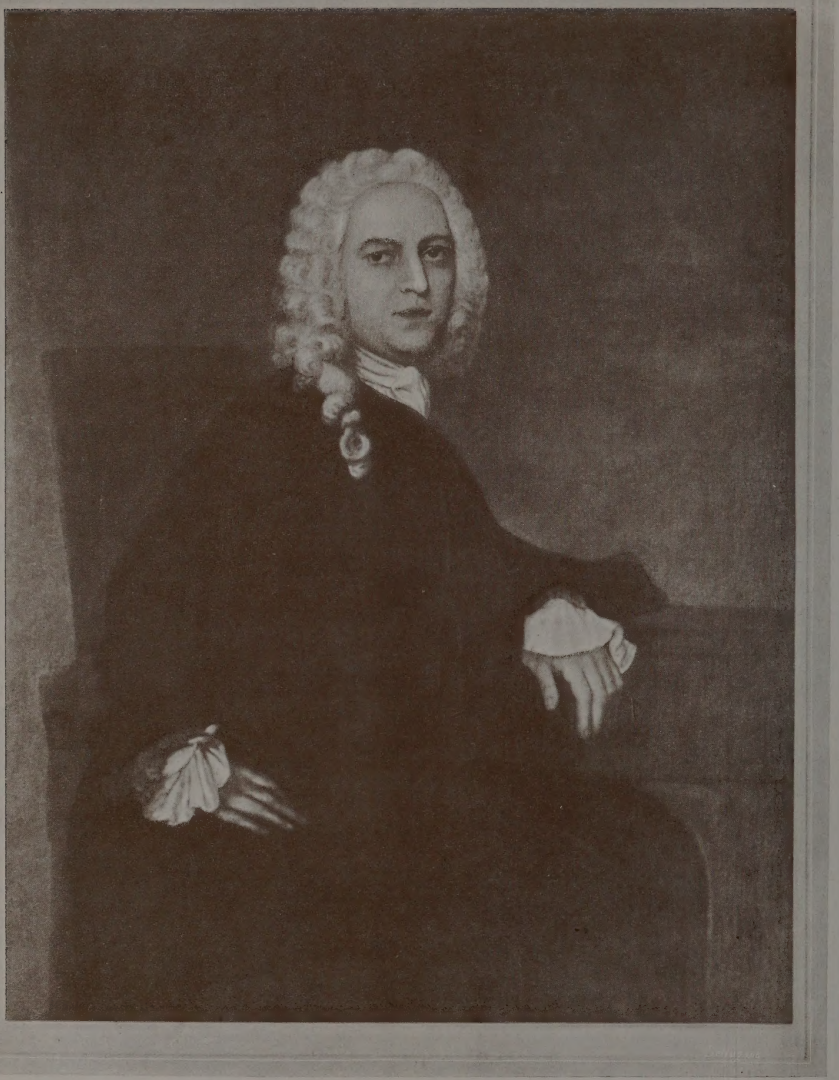
THE BOOK

OF THE

ROTUNDA HOSPITAL



BARTHOLOMEW MOSSE (FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE BOARD ROOM OF THE HOSPITAL).

THE BOOK

OF THE

ROTUNDA HOSPITAL

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE

DUBLIN LYING-IN HOSPITAL

FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1745 TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

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London

ADLARD & SON, BARTHOLOMEW PRESS

BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, E.C.

1913

PREFACE

THE Dublin Lying-in Hospital stands pre-eminent among similar institutions of Great Britain and Ireland, whether one regards it from the point of view of its age, or the magnitude of the work it has done and is still doing. Founded early in the eighteenth century, it grew with the prosperity of the country, and later ministered to the needs of the people whom the decline of that prosperity brought in poverty and misery to its doors. Like the country, the Hospital, too, has had its vicissitudes, and more than once both seemed doomed to failure. Both, however, have survived, and are now entering on a future that promises to be brighter than ever the past has been. This triumph of the Hospital over the difficulties that beset its path is due in a large measure to those who have served it so well all through its long history, and who have with such loyalty and ability carried out the wise plans of its founder.

Mosse designed that his Hospital should serve two great purposes—the relief of the poor, and the teaching of midwifery—and these objects have ever been kept in the forefront by those who have had the management of its fortunes. Even when things looked darkest, when funds were almost exhausted, and friends seemed to waver, the Governors held fast to the rule that no poor woman in the time of her need should be refused the relief she sought at the doors of the Hospital. There is hardly a country in the world that has not sent some of her sons and daughters to learn midwifery in the Dublin Lying-in Hospital. It seems right that the history of such an institution should be preserved, both as a tribute of our gratitude to those who have handed it down to us, and as an expression of our confidence that our successors will carry on the noble traditions of the place.

In writing this history of the Hospital, I have been much indebted to the work of those who from time to time have recorded their investigations into its origin and work, and I have endeavoured always to acknowledge this indebtedness by references to their writings. The Governors of the Hospital, prompted by that liberality which has been so conspicuous in their administration and in that of their predecessors, have placed freely at my

disposal the ample records of the Hospital that have been preserved, and for this liberality I return them my sincere thanks. To the Registrar, Mr. FitzGerald, and to his able assistant, Mr. Macwilliam, I am much indebted for the time and trouble they have so willingly given in helping me to make use of these records. Much information about the early days of the Hospital and those who served it has been obtained at the Irish Public Record Office, and for the recovery of this I am indebted especially to the searches made for me by Miss Sibyl Kirkpatrick, and for the great assistance and courtesy afforded to her in those searches by Mr. Herbert Wood. To Dr. Robert J. Rowlette, Pathologist of the Hospital, and to Mr. Robert J. Phelps, Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians, my thanks are due for much help with the manuscript, and also to Dr. Ernest Tweedy for much valuable assistance and advice. The illustrations, which form such an important addition to the book, have all been prepared under the direct supervision of the Master, Dr. Henry Jellett.

The disappearance of the manuscript history of the Hospital, prepared towards the close of the eighteenth century by Benjamin Higgins, is a serious loss, and one must only hope that the loss will not be permanent. Perhaps this book may be the means of bringing the work of Higgins to light, or of discovering the whereabouts of other valuable documents relating to the early history of the Hospital. Any such information will be very welcome, for one feels that the more one knows of the Hospital and its work, the more will one honour it and feel grateful to its beneficent founder.

T. PERCY C. KIRKPATRICK.

23, Lower Bâggot Street,
Dublin.

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CHAPTER I

MIDWIFERY IN DUBLIN IN THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST HOSPITAL

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were three classes of persons engaged in regular medical practice in Dublin—the physicians, the barber surgeons, and the apothecaries. Of these the physicians alone made any pretence to academic or scientific education, while the others learned their professions as apprentices to existing practitioners. Besides these regular practitioners there were numerous quacks, who, if one may judge by their advertisements in the newspapers at the time, did a considerable business. From the time of the foundation of the College of Physicians in the middle of the seventeenth century there had been some desultory medical teaching for physicians, but such teaching was irregular in time, and quite incomplete in character. Most of the physicians practising in Dublin had studied abroad, and by far the larger number of those who graduated in medicine in the University of Dublin had first obtained degrees at foreign universities. The establishment of the Medical School of Trinity College in 1711 did something to systematise medical teaching, but, with the exception of anatomy, chemistry, and botany, this teaching was purely theoretical. There was not a single civil hospital in Dublin where any practical study of disease could be undertaken. The Charitable Infirmary, now Jervis Street Hospital, was first opened by six Dublin surgeons in 1723, in a small house in Cook Street, and five years later was moved to a larger house on the Inns Quay, next door to the house where Sir Patrick Dun had lived. Steevens' Hospital, though founded in 1720, was not opened for patients till 1733, and Mercer's Hospital, founded by Mary Mercer, was only opened a year later. No real attempt was made till many years later to use for teaching the clinical material thus provided.

The control of the surgical practice was, nominally at least, in the hands of

the Guild of St. Mary Magdalene. To this guild, originally founded as the Guild of Barbers by charter of Henry VI in 1446, the surgeons had been joined by the charter of Elizabeth in 1576, and the apothecaries and periwig-makers in 1687. The apothecaries were granted in 1745 a separate charter which incorporated them as the Guild of St. Luke. Every surgeon practising in Dublin was supposed to be a member of the Guild of St. Mary Magdalene, and was admitted to it after serving an apprenticeship to one of its members. The Guild, however, exercised little real control over the surgeons, many of whom were not made free of it at all, and, indeed, the management of the Guild seems to have passed largely into the hands of the barbers. In this way the little authority which the Guild might have exercised over the education of the surgeons was gradually falling into abeyance. The apothecaries were, perhaps, more strictly supervised even before the formation of the Guild of St. Luke, for the inspection of their shops and drugs was one of the functions specially deputed to the College of Physicians by the charter of William and Mary. This function the College performed with considerable activity, and regularly each year inspectors were appointed to carry out this duty.

The practice of midwifery, however, was in a more deplorable condition than any other branch of medicine. It was almost entirely in the hands of the surgeons and apothecaries, being looked on as rather derogatory to the calling of the physician. In cases of difficulty or danger a physician might be called in consultation, but his presence must have been more useful for its moral support than for any benefit which his knowledge or experience could afford. Some physicians, it is true, made a special claim to skill in obstetrics, such as the father of the notorious Letitia Pilkington, Dr. John Van Lewen, who had been admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1729. Such cases as his were the exception rather than the rule, and most of the physicians neither had, nor wished for, any knowledge or experience of the subject. The midwives were left to pick up what knowledge they could from their practice among the poor, and there is abundant evidence that in many instances they were profoundly ignorant. We have no evidence in Ireland of that antagonism between the men and women practitioners in midwifery which in the previous century had arisen in England as the result of the attempt of Dr. Paul Chamberlen to introduce a rigorous system of registration and qualification for midwives. The charter granted in 1692 to the College of Physicians had given to that corporation "full power and authority to examine all midwives, and to license and allow all such as they shall find skilful and fit to exercise that profession, and to hinder all such as

they shall find unskilful from practising" ; but the midwives were too insignificant a class even to raise a protest against this restriction of their practice. The College, as if in return, made little use of the privilege. Previous to the year 1740 only four persons appear to have been examined by the College for the license in midwifery, and of these only one, Mrs. Cormack, licensed in 1696–7, was a woman. There is no record in the proceedings of the College of any attempt to regulate the practice of the midwives, such as was frequently made in connection with the practice of the apothecaries. The first definite pronouncement of the College in connection with this subject was its refusal in 1753 to examine for a degree or license in physic "any person who hath or does practice midwifery." Such, then, was the state of medical practice in Dublin when, in 1745, Bartholomew Mosse opened there the first lying-in hospital in the British dominions.

Mosse is so intimately associated with the origin of the Rotunda Hospital that in any attempt to record its history his name must take a most prominent position. Early in the seventeenth century there was living in Cork one Michael Mosse, who married a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Boyle, of Timoleague, a cousin of the great Earl of Cork. In the year 1662 there was born to this couple a son, Thomas, who at the age of thirty years was appointed Rector of Maryborough. Thomas Mosse married Martha, a daughter of the Rev. Andrew Nisbet, of Timoge, and by her had five sons and two daughters. The second of these sons, Bartholomew by name, born about 1712, was the founder of the Lying-in Hospital of Dublin.[1]

Unfortunately the information that has come down to us of the early life and education of Bartholomew Mosse is very scanty. He received, we are told, "a genteel education," and while quite a youth was bound as apprentice to one John Stone, Surgeon, of Dublin, who afterwards became one of the surgeons to Mercer's Hospital. On July 12th, 1733, Mosse obtained the following certificate of having duly completed his indenture: "I do hereby certify that Mr. Bartholomew Mosse hath faithfully and diligently served his apprenticeship to me, and I do hereby believe him well qualified to practice Surgery. (Signed) John Stone." On the same date he received also a certificate from the Surgeon-General, John Nichols, who stated that, as a result of personal examination, he had found him "well qualified to practise the Art of Surgery."[2] In Dublin at that time the period of apprenticeship to a surgeon was from five to seven years, and at the completion of that period the

[1] Walsh and Wright, 'Pedigree Register,' vol. i, pp. 53 and 106, vol. ii, p. 93.

[2] Wilde, 'Mosse.'

apprentice, if he wished to practise in Dublin, was expected to become a member of the Guild of Barber Surgeons. The Guild, however, as we have seen, was frequently neglected, and those who were attached as surgeons to the army were entirely free from its authority. The fact that Mosse was examined by the Surgeon-General suggests that at the outset of his career he intended to enter that service, but though he was subsequently appointed to medical charge of troops, he does not seem to have belonged to the Army Medical Department, for his name cannot now be traced in the military records of the War Office or in those of the London or Dublin Record Offices. The roll of members of the Guild of Barber Surgeons preserved in the Library of Trinity College does not cover the period at which Mosse was qualified, and we have been unable to find any evidence that he was ever admitted a member of that fraternity.

In several documents Mosse is styled M.D., and even in his will he is described as "Doctor in Physic," but we have not been able to trace any evidence that he ever took a University degree. It is possible that he may have done so during his travels abroad, but it seems unlikely, as when writing of himself he generally speaks of himself as surgeon and practitioner in Midwifery. It is unlikely, too, had he possessed such a degree, that Higgins would have omitted to mention the fact.

The year after he obtained his qualification in surgery Mosse married Miss Elizabeth Mary Mallory,[1] but she seems to have died soon after and left no children. We next hear of him as appointed by the Government to take medical charge of troops on their way to Minorca to complete the strength of the regiments there. For this duty he received a certificate signed "at St. Phillips, October 4th, 1738," by William Congreve, Charles Whitefoord, and Robert Cotter, stating that, not only had he taken good care of the men, but also that he had "greatly recovered those that came on board diseased."[2] Mosse was probably only a short time away, for the following bill, accidentally preserved among the Hospital papers, suggests that he was still in Dublin in the beginning of August: "Received from Mr. Barth: Mosse one pound seventeen shillings for washing and in full of all accounts Dublin August 7th 1738—Eight.

her
"Witness present Brigget X Quale
"W: Mosse. mark."

[1] Dublin Grant Book.
[2] Wilde, 'Mosse.'

In all probability it was after the termination of his military appointment that Mosse visited the continent of Europe. As a contemporary biographer tells us, "intending to perfect himself in surgery and midwifery, he travelled into England, France, and Holland, and several other parts of Europe."[1] On his return to Ireland he settled in Dublin and there started in practice as a surgeon and midwife. On May 22nd, 1742, he was admitted a Licentiate in Midwifery of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and from that time "quit the practice of surgery." In the following year, October 6th, 1743, he married at St. Bride's Church, as his second wife, his first cousin, Jane, daughter of the Venerable Charles Whittingham, D.D., Archdeacon of Dublin.[2]

When Mosse started the practice of midwifery in Dublin he found that the condition of the poor at the time of their lying-in was most pitiable. Again and again he tells us of the misery of these women, how "their lodgings were generally in cold garrets open to every wind, or in damp cellars subject to floods from excessive rains; destitute of attendance, medicines, and often of proper food." While the assistance available was so meagre the need for it was becoming greater each day, since the population of the city and country was increasing at an extraordinarily rapid rate, and the poverty of the lower classes in Dublin was extreme. Small wonder, then, that a keen and philanthropic practitioner felt the need for change in such a state of affairs, and all the more must we admire the energy and ability with which he set himself to find a remedy. The three hospitals in Dublin altogether afforded accommodation for about 100 patients. All were largely dependent on charitable donations, all were doing good work, and all were being well supported by the public. None of these hospitals, however, afforded accommodation for lying-in women, and indeed the reception of such patients did not seem to come within the scope of the foundation of any of them. Mosse felt that, if such patients were to be provided for, it must be in some new institution, and the experience of the existing hospitals gave good grounds for hope that one with such an object would receive adequate public support.

The whole record of Mosse's life shows that his character was certainly not lacking in decision. As soon as he had made up his mind that a thing was to be done, he at once set about doing it, and the difficulties in the way merely acted as a stimulus to increased exertion. The difficulties in his path

[1] Wilde, 'Mosse.'

[2] Registry of St. Bridget's Church.

in endeavouring to reach the goal of a lying-in hospital would have appeared to many to be insurmountable. He was barely thirty-three years of age, he had just married, and had started the practice of a profession on his success in which depended the support of his household. There was at the time no lying-in hospital in the kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, and consequently for the plans of his scheme he had to draw mainly on his own invention, guided only by the experience he had gained in foreign lands. His brother practitioners looked on his project with little favour, some were actively opposed to it, and none seem to have come forward to assist him.

The Middlesex Hospital, London, was founded in August, 1745,[1] and in April, 1747, the Governors decided to open in it beds for the reception of maternity patients. Mr. Layard, who was appointed "Physician-Accoucheur" to the hospital, was in communication with Mosse, and the working plans of the London institution were largely founded on those in use in Dublin. Differences of opinion among the Governors of the Middlesex Hospital soon arose in relation to the allocation of the funds of the charity to the maternity and other departments of the hospital. These disputes led to the resignation of a number of the Governors, who then decided to open a special maternity hospital. As a result, on December 9th, 1749, was opened the first London Maternity Hospital, in Brownlow Street, Long Acre. Since 1756 this has been known as the British Lying-in Hospital, and in 1849 it was rebuilt in Endell Street, St. Giles, where it still exists, treating about 150 lying-in women each year.[2] When this institution was started not only had the Governors the advantage of the advice and assistance of Mosse, but they also had some experience of general hospital management and of the particular needs of a maternity department. Mosse, when he started his undertaking, could have had no practical experience of hospital management, but he never for a moment seems to have doubted his ability not only to found a hospital but to make it succeed. He immediately set about interesting his friends in the project, and, we are told, formed a "Union of a number of persons of different occupations, most of whom subscribed four shillings and four pence yearly, to be paid quarterly, for the support of the intended hospital." With this meagre support, and with what money he could spare from his own domestic economy, he embarked on the fulfilment of his great project.

The site selected for the new hospital was a large house in George's Lane, now South Great George's Street, in what was then described as "a good

[1] Middlesex Hospital.

[2] 'Ryan,' p. xiii.

HOUSE IN GEORGE'S LANE, OPPOSITE FADE STREET.
OPENED ON FRIDAY MARCH 15TH 1745 AS A LYING-IN HOSPITAL BY DOCTOR BARTHOLOMEW MOSSE.
IN THIS HOUSE 3975 WOMEN WERE DELIVERED OF 4049 CHILDREN DURING THE TWELVE YEARS.
THE HOSPITAL WAS REMOVED TO THE PRESENT BUILDING ON DECEMBER 8TH 1757.
FROM A SKETCH MADE IN 1946.

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open air." The house had previously been used as a theatre by Madam Violante, and it was there that she had first introduced to the stage the celebrated Margaret Woffington, then a mere child of about fifteen years of age.[1] The last traces of this house were removed some years ago, but a picture of it, in the dilapidated condition in which it existed in 1846, has been preserved for us in the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science' for November of that year. It was a three-storied house of considerable size, situated just opposite the end of the present Fade Street, and stood back some distance from the roadway, from which it was separated by a court-yard and a narrow passage. The main building contained four rooms on each floor, and behind there was a second building, in which there were one large and two small wards, with out-offices.

Having secured the house Mosse got together a small committee for its management consisting of the Rev. Dr. Wynne, Dr. Blachford, Sir Arthur Gore, Bart., Thomas Prior, and Ralph Sampson, Esqs. Funds were not forthcoming to furnish the whole house, but a few beds were fitted up, the necessary appliances obtained, and the hospital was opened for the reception of patients on March 15th, 1745. In various documents subsequently published the opening day is always referred to as March 25th, on account of the fact that when, in 1752, the "New Style" was adopted eleven days were rejected from the calendar, September 3rd being reckoned as September 14th. The following account of the opening ceremony, published in 'Faulkner's Dublin Journal,' "No. 1884 Saturday March 23rd to Tuesday March 26th 1745," fixes for us the exact date of the opening: "On Friday, the 15th instant, was opened an Hospital for poor Lying-in Women, in George's Lane, facing Fade Street: and the same Evening, Judeth Rochford was received into the said Hospital, recommended by the Minister, Church-wardens, and a great number of the principal Parishioners of St. Andrew's Parish, as a very great object of Charity; and on Wednesday last she was safely delivered of a son.

"As this Hospital is solely designed for the Relief of such poor and distressed Women, as are not in Circumstances to provide themselves at such a Time with a convenient place to lie in, or with the common Necessaries for Persons in such a Condition, by which means many poor, though honest and industrious Women perish, and leave their helpless Orphans a Burthen to the Publick (notwithstanding they may at any Hour have the best Assistance in the physical Way that this City affords), therefore the Directors of this Hospital

[1] 'Irish Builder,' December 1st, 1893.

request that the Publick recommend none but such as truly merit the Benefit of this most useful Charity.

"The Beds hitherto erected are few; but the Directors in a short Time hope to be able to fill the House which will conveniently contain twenty-four Beds: This Number, they apprehend, will be sufficient to relieve all the poor Objects, in such a Way in this City. Every Woman is to have a warm, decent Bed to herself, and shall be provided with all manner of Necessaries, and the greatest Care imaginable will be taken of her and the new-born Infant, from the Time she is received, until well able to leave the Hospital without Danger; and all without the least Expence to her.

"N.B. Those who are inclined to contribute to the Support and Encouragement of this so useful and charitable an Undertaking may send their Subscriptions and Benefactions to the Rev. Dr. Wynne, Dr. Blachford, Sir Arthur Gore, Bart., Thomas Prior, and Ralph Sampson, Esqurs.; or any of the Clergy in and about Dublin. Constant Attendance will be given at the said Hospital by Mr. Bartholomew Mosse, until assisted by the rest of the Gentlemen of the Faculty."

Thus in a small and unpretentious way was started an institution which was destined to make no small figure in medical history. Not only does it hold a pre-eminence in date of foundation among British maternities, but it has ever since maintained a leading position among them, both for the extent and importance of the work which it has done. To Mosse the Dublin School of Obstetrics, and, indeed, of medicine in general, owes a debt of gratitude which it is difficult to measure, and it must always be a source of regret to us that this debt was so inadequately discharged during his lifetime. Henry Jones, the bricklayer poet of Drogheda, published an ode "inscrib'd to the Founders" in which he thus apostrophises the place and its work:[1]

"Auspicious Pile, preventing Pains and Guilt,
First plann'd by Piety, by Virtue built,
A publick Virtue in thy Founder blaz'd,
A publick Love thy sacred Mansions rais'd,
Mansions by Charity herself design'd,
The sure Asylum of the suff'ring Kind,
Whom Poverty with meagre Mien pursues,
And ghastly Malady, with Pain, subdues;
In thee reliev'd, their fainting Souls revive,
The rescu'd mother and her Infant thrive;

[1] Jones, p. 186.

Through timely care and Strength-restoring Food,
Those smiling Pledges of the publick Good,
The Charity to early Light conveys,
To social Duties and to lengthen'd Days,
Strengthens for frequent Births the fruitful Womb,
And stores Community with Hands to come,
Training the Midnight Dame to save the Wife,
Nor strangle Nature in the Porch of Life."

CHAPTER II

WORK IN THE LYING-IN HOSPITAL IN GEORGE'S LANE.

The opening of the Hospital was a considerable undertaking, but the real difficulty was to find means for its adequate support. It would take a large "Union" with the subscription at "four and four pence yearly," even though it was paid quarterly, to maintain a lying-in hospital. Mosse faced this difficulty by adopting what was then a very usual method of obtaining money for charitable purposes—he had a play performed in one of the local theatres. In the issue of the 'Dublin Journal' for April 23rd to 27th, 1745, there is the following notice of this performance: "Last Thursday Evening The Distressed Mother, for the Benefit of the poor Lying-in Women, was acted to a most polite and numerous Audience the Benefit whereof amounted to above £150, and some charitable persons who were present subscribed £15 a year. The Prologue spoken on the occasion will be given in our next." In an appeal made for money in the July following we are told that the play produced "only £90 9*s.* 3*d.* clear," and the subscriptions £10 3*s.* 9*d.* The prologue differs so much from what one would expect on a similar occasion at the present day that we transcribe it in full from the columns of the 'Journal.'

"A Prologue spoken by Mr. Bardin for the Benefit of the Hospital lately opened in George's Lane for Lying-in-Women.

"By the Rev. William Dunkin, D.D.

"The Tragic Muse to noblest Actions fires
The raptur'd Soul, and softest Thoughts inspires;
She forms the Hero struggling with his Fate,
In Pain triumphant, and in Ruin great,
Gives injur'd Virtue a more lovely Dress,
And dignifies bright Beauty in Distress.

With fond Compassion then our Bosoms melt,
And throb for Sorrows which we never felt.
If such the Grief a well wrought scene imparts,
How must a real Anguish touch your Hearts?
The tender Mother and the faithful Wife,
Panting to bear her Burden into Life,
To life of Woe and destitute of Means
To prop that Being which she scarce sustains
Like some wreck'd Sailor who would fain explore
A savage Morsel on a desert Shore!
Ye Fathers who possess the growing Joys
Of blooming Virgins and of hopeful Boys,
Let Nature plead without the Guise of Art,
And shew that Pity is a manly Part:
That you were fashioned with exalted Mind
And lordly Sway, to guard the weaker Kind.
Ye gentle Matrons who have felt the Throes
Of teeming Labour, sooth your sex's Woes.
Why should they moan and not affect your Ears?
Why should they weep and you restrain your Tears?
Ye generous Swains, whom honest Passion warms,
Smit by the genial Beams of female Charms,
Like antient Worthies purchase late Renown,
By saving Lives, deserve a deathless Crown;
So may glad Hymen recompence your Youth
With blissful Beauties and unspotted Truth.
And ye chaste Maids, who ripening, hope to prove
The Sweets of Wedlock, and the Fruits of Love.
With inward Worth your outward Gifts adorn,
And calm the Parent's Pangs, and cheer the babe unborn.
So may just Heaven reward your nuptial Rites,
Mirth wait your Days, and Pleasure crown your Nights.
Oh! May you long your softer Sex repair
With Daughters, fairer than their Mothers fair,
With Manly Issue bless the public Weal,
Nor ever, ever feel the Wounds you heal."

On Thursday, August 1st, there was another entertainment, when Mr. Quin played "Cato" at the Theatre Royal, Aungier Street, for the benefit of the Hospital. We have no record of how much money this entertainment produced, but it gave an excellent advertisement to the Hospital. By May 18th, 1745, we are informed that there were ten beds open, and that in the five

preceding weeks seventeen women had been admitted, of whom twelve were delivered and five remained undelivered in the wards. Soon there was an addition made to the number of the beds, for on July 13th, 1745, Mrs. Bolton, widow of the late Archbishop of Cashel, sent to the Hospital "two feather beds and bolsters, a pair of broadcloth blankets, and two bedsteads." In the ten days preceding that date eight women had been delivered in the Hospital. The work was now steadily progressing, and on January 17th of the following year Mosse petitioned the Corporation "on behalf of the poor lying-in women of the Hospital in George's Lane praying to be supplied with pipe water gratis." Leave was granted him to lay "a pipe of three quarters of an inch diameter, from the main in George's Lane, at his own expense, without fine or payment of rent, during the City's pleasure for the use of the Hospital."[1]

Towards the end of February another entertainment was given. This time it was the oratorio, "Hester," in the Great Music Hall, Fishamble Street, and half a guinea apiece was charged for the tickets. The Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Chesterfield, was present, and the audience numbered about five hundred. The whole audience, however, did not pay for admission if we may judge from the following notice which appeared in the 'Dublin Journal': "The gentleman who gave a Messiah ticket is asked to send a right one or he will be called upon."

On April 2nd, 1746, the Governors were summoned to meet at the Hospital to consider the financial condition of the charity and to draw up a report on the work done during the year. Unfortunately, the minute-books recording the proceedings of the Governors of the first hospital have not been preserved, and we are dependent on outside sources for all our information as to what was done. We learn from Watson's 'Dublin Almanack' for 1745 that the original Board of Governors had been increased from six to eleven members by the addition of the Hon. Col. James Butler, the Rev. Dr. James King, Dr. George Leslie, the Rev. Dean Maturin, and Riley Towers, Esq. No report appears to have been immediately published, but in the 'Dublin Journal' for July 5th to 8th, 1746, the following account of the Hospital work up to the end of June is given:

"From the Hospital for poor Lying-in Women in George's-Lane, Dublin.

"This Hospital having hitherto been supported by Collections at Plays and one Musick Meeting, and by private Benefactions; the Governors think it a Justice due to the Public to give an Account of the Money they have received and how they have applied the same for the Use of the Hospital together with

[1] 'C. A. R.,' vol. ix, p. 194.

an Account of the Progress and present State of the said Hospital which is as follows:

"Admitted into the Lying-in Hospital from 25th March 1745 to the 1st July 1746 from the different Parishes the following numbers:—

From St. Andrews Parish	24	From St. Mary's Parish	14
From St. Ann's ,,	2	From St. Michael's ,,	8
From St. Audoen's ,,	16	From St. Michan's ,,	10
From St. Bridget's ,,	19	From St. Nicholas without	9
From St. Catherine's ,,	40	From St. Nicholas within	2
From St. James' ,,	5	From St. Paul's Parish	17
From St. John's ,,	5	From St. Peter's ,,	12
From St. Luke's ,,	19	From St. Werburgh's Parish	2
From St. Mark's ,,	5		
		Total	209

"Amongst these:—

Wives of Soldiers and Seamen mostly abroad in His Majesty's Service	41
Poor Widows of Soldiers and Seamen killed in His Majesty's Service	14
Wives of poor Weavers, Combers and Dyers etc.	46
Wives of poor Tradesmen	57
Wives of poor Servants	24
Widows of Tradesmen, Servants, Labourers etc.	8
Wives of poor Men in the Marshalsey	4
Poor distressed Women from different parts of the Kingdom	6
From England	4
From Scotland	3
From the Isle of Man	2
Total admitted	209
Delivered in the Hospital in the same time	204
Delivered of Boys	114
Delivered of Girls	94
Total born	208

"Discharged 191 Women with 105 Boys and 85 Girls all very well.

"Died one Woman of a Fever twelve days after she was safely delivered. Died 7 Children of Fits.

" Remain in the Hospital 17 Women, 12 of whom are delivered, and 5 not yet delivered, and 11 Children.

	£	s.	d.
" To Cash received by two Plays and the Oratorio of Hester	330	5	6½
Do. received by Subscriptions and small private benefactions	54	7	5
Total received . .	384	12	11½
Paid towards repairing and fitting up the Hospital and building a Wash-house etc. .	67	4	3
Paid for necessary Furniture, and 16 Beds, Bedding etc. . . .	130	18	6
Do. for House Expenses for Provisions etc. and Servants Wages . . .	209	10	4½
Paid for one year's Rent of the Hospital ending 25th March 1746 . . .	30	0	0
Total expended . .	437	13	1½
Total received . .	384	12	11½
	53	0	0
To answer which there are due by Tickets and Subscriptions . . .	104	7	8

" In this Hospital an exact Register is kept of all the Women when admitted and when discharged, from what places they come, and whose wives they are, and the Certificates of Ministers, Church-wardens, and others recommending them for good Character and Poverty; and of the Children born whether Boys or Girls; and a faithful account is kept of the Money received and expended for the Use of the Hospital.

" The State of the Hospital manifestly shows the great Use of this Charity for preserving the Lives of many poor Women and Children, who labour under the greatest distress and want immediate Relief.

" The extraordinary Expenses requisite to fit up the Hospital, and provide Beds and other necessary Furniture, which was a heavy Charge at first are in a great measure at an end. The ordinary Expenses for Provisions, Servants' Wages and House Rent, which is brought as low as possible, require a sufficient Fund to answer them. It is a Pity that so useful a Charity should fail from want of Support which it has not at present as may be seen by the above State

of the Hospital, and it is to be hoped that Ways and Means will be found out, not only to support it in the Condition it is in at present, which now may be done at a moderate Charge, but also to enlarge the Charity, in regard there are vacant Rooms for more Beds, and the number of Women who apply to be admitted increases daily.

"Any Person charitably disposed may have Liberty to erect a Bed in the Hospital, and admit any poor Lying-in Woman to it, who shall be maintained there as others are, on paying ten Pounds a year. It is earnestly desired that they who are in Arrear for Tickets received by them for Plays and the Oratorio, and they who have promised private Benefactions, will be so good as to pay them forthwith, to Mr. Joseph Miller, at the Hospital, who is appointed by the Governors to receive all Money due to said Hospital, or to Doctor Mosse at his House in George's Lane."

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this statement is the smallness of the sum of money expended on the fitting up of the Hospital. We have, fortunately, a similar statement regarding the London Hospital in Brownlow Street, extending "from its first institution in November, 1749, to 25th July, 1751," [1] and it is interesting to compare the one with the other. During the nineteen months that the London Hospital was working 332 women were delivered at the expense of the charity at a total cost of £1189 11*s.* 8*d.*, or a little over £3 10*s.* for each patient. In Dublin during the fifteen months under review the 204 patients were delivered at a cost of just over two guineas each. We are not told whether any of the women died in the London Hospital, but "fourteen were discharged for irregularity" and twenty-two children were stillborn. Thus the record of the Dublin Lying-in Hospital compares most favourably, both in efficiency and economy, with that of the London institution. Good as this record is, it was improved upon later, and before November 1st, 1747, a total of 509 women had been delivered of 522 children, of whom four women had died of fever several days after delivery, and fifteen children, "which was chiefly of fits." [2]

The Hospital was now fairly established as one of the recognised charities of the City, and subscriptions began to come in. In October, 1746, Mr. James Taylor agreed to subscribe six barrels of beer annually for the use of the Hospital, and various other things, including "three pairs of new sheets," were sent by anonymous donors. The funds, however, were still inadequate, the Hospital was not fully fitted up, and the demand for accommodation was

[1] Brownlow Street Hospital.
[2] 'Dublin Almanack,' 1748.

increasing daily. Under these circumstances Mosse decided to embark on speculation in lotteries, which at the time were very popular, and promised a large return. Though on the whole this venture was lucrative for the Hospital, it was, as we shall see, most unfortunate for Mosse himself, and involved him in endless worry and finally in almost complete financial ruin.

The first of these lotteries was started in the autumn of 1746, and seems to have been run in connection with the State Lottery then being held in London. The tickets were issued and sold in the Hospital in George's Lane, and the winning numbers were decided by the drawing of the London lottery. On Saturday, November 15th, 1746, we are told that upwards of one thousand tickets a day were sold at the Hospital during the last fortnight and that only three thousand remained unsold. The sale of tickets was to stop on November 29th, and any that then remained unsold were to be retained for the benefit of the Hospital, or sold at a premium. The drawing in London was to begin on Monday, the 24th, and the results of the first two days' drawing were expected to arrive in Dublin by the packet on the following Sunday. When the results were declared it was found that the Rev. Benjamin Bacon, and Mr. Belew, of Ussher's Quay, had won the two £500 prizes. This venture did not prove a great success for the Hospital, for over one fourth of the tickets were unsold, and though they were retained for the benefit of the Hospital they unfortunately included none of the larger prizes. The prize-winners, however, were generous. The Rev. Dr. Bacon subscribed £50 out of his prize to the Hospital, Sir Richard Levinge, who had bought fifty tickets, gave in all his prizes, and many of the other smaller prize-winners did the same. The prizes were paid off at the Hospital in George's Lane on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the process must have caused no little excitement among the inmates. The lottery which Mosse organised in the following year was more successful, the Hospital securing one of the £500 prizes and Mr. Wentworth Thules, an attorney, the other. In 1748, Mosse joined with the Governors of the Hospital for Incurables and those of the Charitable Infirmary on the Inns Quay to promote a lottery for the joint benefit of the three institutions. For this lottery sixty-three thousand tickets were to be issued at five shillings and five pence each, and the prize-winners were to be decided by the drawing of the State Lottery then pending in London.

In spite of the work which these financial operations must have entailed on Mosse, who acted as their chief manager and organiser, the work in the Hospital in George's Lane went on with unabated vigour, and the applications

for admission soon exceeded the utmost accommodation of the house. Three years' work had fully proved the popularity of the Hospital among those it was designed to benefit, and the increasing support which Mosse was receiving in his financial speculations quite satisfied him of his ability to undertake a much larger venture. Nothing can give us a better idea of the unbounded energy and confidence of the man than the scheme which he at this time planned and proceeded to carry into execution. He was at the time earning his living by his profession as an obstetrician, he had the sole charge of a maternity hospital with some twenty-eight beds, he was deeply involved in heavy financial speculations in his efforts to provide funds for the maintenance of this institution; these efforts needed for their success continuous and strenuous exertion on his part, while their failure meant for him not only the ruin of his undertaking but also of his professional position. Surely here was work enough and to spare for any man, yet Mosse planned to add to it a labour compared with which all his previous work seemed trivial.

On August 15th, 1748, Mosse signed an indenture of lease with William Naper, by which he acquired a plot of ground of "four acres and one rood plantation measure" situate on the north side of Great Britain Street, in the suburbs of Dublin. The ground was leased to Mosse and his heirs, for three lives, renewable for ever at a fine of a peppercorn on the fall of each life, the rent being fixed at twenty pounds a year for the first two years and seventy pounds a year afterwards. On part of the ground thus acquired Mosse proposed to build a hospital that would be capable of accommodating at least one hundred and fifty patients, and the remainder of the ground he proposed to lay out as public gardens. From the profit which he hoped to make on the entertainments held in these gardens he believed that he would be able to support the hospital. Such was the scheme that Mosse proposed for himself, and well might it have daunted any man, even though he had his full time to devote to its accomplishment, yet Mosse undertook it in addition to all his other work and carried it to a successful issue. Let us consider for a moment what the new scheme meant. To his other obligations he added the rent of the newly acquired property, while he proposed also to spend a large sum in laying out the new garden and in building a maternity hospital on a scale greater than any at that time dreamed of elsewhere in the British dominions. He also proposed himself to organise the entertainments in the new gardens in such a way that they should produce a considerable yearly income for the benefit of his charity. How well his plans were laid, and how well his work was done, we may judge from the fact that at his death, at the age of forty-

seven years, his undertaking in all its essential parts was completed and its foundations so securely fixed, that to-day, after more than one hundred and sixty years' work, his Hospital is one of the most honoured institutions of the city. Moreover, it still draws a considerable income from the entertainment-rooms and pleasure-grounds planned by Mosse.

The history of the foundation and opening of the new Hospital, and the planning of the New Gardens, we shall relate in subsequent chapters, but it must be remembered that during the time this work was in progress the old Hospital in George's Lane continued in a most active state of existence. When, after a little over twelve and a half year's work, the patients were transferred to the new Hospital in Great Britain Street, Mosse was able to record that 3975 women had been delivered in the old Hospital at a total cost of only £3913 13*s.* 0¾*d.* This return he compared with the returns published by the British Lying-in Hospital in London, where 2307 women were cared for at a cost of £7313 16*s.* 10¼*d.* In other words, the patients in London cost £3 3*s.* 5¼*d.* a-piece, whereas in Dublin the cost was "very little more than 19*s.* 8¼*d.* each." Mosse calculated that in this way he had saved the City of Dublin a sum of £8696 12*s.* 5¼*d.* by his economical management of the Lying-in Hospital in George's Lane.

LYING-IN HOSPITAL, DUBLIN.

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CHAPTER III

THE BUILDING OF THE NEW HOSPITAL

The property which Mosse acquired from William Naper, lying on the north side of Great Britain Street, was then practically in the open country, and described as in the suburbs of Dublin. The whole neighbourhood has since altered so much that it is difficult to realise its original condition. The City at that time scarcely extended at all to the north of Great Britain Street, and the open country there was generally known as the "Barley Fields." There was one large brick house at the south-west corner of the property, known as Kingsland House, which belonged to Lord Mount-Garret. This building, now the students' quarters, did not come into the possession of the Hospital till the year 1815. Dominick Street, leading from Great Britain Street to Drumcondra Lane, now Dorset Street, had been opened in 1743, but there were then few houses built on it, and the present Upper Sackville Street was a narrow roadway known as Drogheda Street. This street was widened in 1756 and then re-named Sackville Street. Essex Bridge, where the present Grattan Bridge crosses the river, was then the most eastward communication between the south and north sides of the City, and the main thoroughfare to the north was by Capel Street and Drumcondra Lane. The site thus selected for the Hospital was admirable. Situate on the very fringe of the city, it was still in the open country, and there was ample room for building. No clearing of the site was necessary, and the sloping fields lent themselves readily to artistic garden planning. The authorities of the Hospital have reason to be grateful to the founder for his wise forethought in thus providing an open space, which has ever since been one of the most important assets of the Institution.

Though the lease was signed on August 15th, 1748, the tenancy was to date from May 1st previously, and the first three names mentioned in the original lease were those of Mosse himself, his son Charles, then three years old, and the Rev. Dr. John Whittingham, Senior Fellow of Trinity College. For the

first two years a rent of only twenty pounds per annum was to be paid, but after the completion of that time the rent was to be seventy pounds a year. This arrangement gave Mosse the opportunity of making the property remunerative before the larger rent was due—no small matter when we consider the scanty funds available for the working of the old Hospital. No time was lost in setting about the work. The ground was enclosed by a wall. An orchestra, a concert room, and a coffee room were built, valuable trees and shrubs were planted, and the whole place laid out much like the Vauxhall Gardens near London. By September 11th, 1749, the work was so far completed as to enable the New Gardens, as they were called, to be illuminated and the public admitted at the charge of "an English shilling." We are told that Mosse expended some £2000 in this work, money which he had to find himself, for the hospital funds were barely enough to pay for the daily needs of the institution.

The very success of his undertaking, however, raised up for him enemies, and he was openly accused of endeavouring to make fame and fortune for himself under cover of a charitable object. It was suggested that his investment in the New Gardens was merely for personal profit, and perhaps some excuse may be found for those who looked on his project of hospital building as wholly chimerical. To meet these calumnies Mosse perfected a deed of trust bearing the date of January 1st, 1749/50, which was endorsed on the original lease of the New Gardens. By this deed he "did acknowledge and declare that the said lease and ground were taken by him in trust for and to and for the only use, behoof and benefit of the Hospital for poor distressed lying-in women," and further he named as trustees with him the Rev. George Leslie, Doctor of Divinity, Thomas Prior, and Ralph Sampson, Esqs. With these trustees he agreed "to execute such grant, conveyance, or assurance as should be thought necessary for the better conveying the said lease, and ground, and buildings, and improvements made or to be made thereon to and for the use and benefit of said hospital such as councel should advise." A more complete vindication of his purpose and refutation of the calumnies brought against him could hardly be imagined.

Having laid out the grounds, Mosse next proceeded to organise a series of entertainments in them that would attract the public and so bring in the money urgently needed for carrying on his undertaking. Almost at the start an unfortunate misunderstanding nearly wrecked the entire scheme. A concert was advertised to take place in the new gardens in March, 1749/50, but at the last moment it had to be abandoned owing to the musicians refus-

ing to play. It would seem that many of the musicians who had been engaged by Mosse were already under articles of agreement with Thomas Sheridan, manager of the Theatre Royal, and he refused to allow them to appear in what he considered to be a rival entertainment. Mosse stated that he had received a verbal permission for them to take part in the concert, but Sheridan denied that he had given this, and lengthy statements were published by each in the newspapers and as pamphlets to justify their conduct.[1] The dispute was particularly unfortunate in that it involved Faulkner, the proprietor and editor of the 'Dublin Journal.' From its very start Faulkner had been a good friend to the Lying-in Hospital, and his paper had always been open to appeals on its behalf. Thus on March 19th, 1748, there was a notice in the 'Dublin Journal' that a gentleman had given to the editor £300 "to be disposed of in charitable uses." Faulkner had given £100 each to the Charitable Infirmary on the Inns Quay, to the Hospital for Incurables, and to the Lying-in Hospital. Mosse accused Faulkner of treating him unfairly in the dispute with Sheridan, with the result that the friendly relations between them were interrupted, and few further references to the Lying-in Hospital are met with in the columns of the 'Dublin Journal.' To obviate such difficulties for the future, and to secure for the gardens a really superior entertainment, Mosse engaged in the following year "Signior Marella, who played the first violin in the spiritual concerts in Paris, and is universally allowed to be one of the ablest performers in Europe." To Marella was entrusted the control of the "band of Musick at the New Gardens." It was at this period that Mosse engaged M. Gresoni to paint for him a picture of the New Gardens with the company assembled there. For this picture, which measured eight feet by five feet three inches, the artist was paid one hundred guineas, and for some time the picture was exhibited in the Gardens. Mosse planned to have it engraved so that the sale of copies "at three half crowns each" might be a source of income to the charity. For this purpose the original picture was sent to France, but unfortunately on being landed there it was seized, and has never since been recovered.

Mosse resorted to all sorts of plans to induce the fashionable public of Dublin to support his gardens by becoming subscribers and attending his concerts. One of these methods was to invite all likely subscribers to a complementary breakfast and concert at the beginning of the season, and by thus showing them what they might expect, induce them to come again. Mrs. Delany, writing to Mrs. Dewes, under the date of "Delville Feb.

[1] 'Hal. P.,' vol. 232, R. I. A.

1750–51," gives the following graphic description of one of these entertainments:

"Dr. Moss, you must know, is the chief manager and operator of the Lying-in Hospital, and has gardens laid out for the entertainment of company in the manner of Vauxhall and Ranalagh; and in order to gather together subscribers for the next season he gave a gratis breakfast and a fine concert of music in a large room which was not opened before, and is in the gardens. The music allured us, and we went, D. D. with us, at about half an hour after eleven, the concert to begin at 12. When we came with some difficulty we squeezed into the room, which they say is 60 feet long, and got up to the breakfast table, which had been well pillaged; but the fragments of cakes, bread and butter, silver coffee-pots and tea-kettles without number, and all sorts of spring flowers strewed on the table, shewed it had been set out plentifully and elegantly. The company, indeed, looked as if their principal design of coming was for a breakfast. When they had satisfied their hunger the remains were taken away, and such a torrent of rude mob (for they deserved no better name) crowded in that I and my company crowded out as fast as we could, glad we escaped with whole skins, and resolving never more to add to the throng of a gratis entertainment. We got away with all speed, without hearing a note of the music, and went to pay a visit to Mrs. Dillon and Lady Austin, and have engaged them to spend next Monday here. The Dean fled from his colours: he followed us into the room, and retired as fast as possible. The bustle and odd mixture of company (for there was from the highest to the lowest) was a matter of mirth to us in the evening, when we had a little recovered our fatigue."[1]

Though very fully occupied with the organisation of these entertainments and with the planning of his New Gardens, Mosse was not unmindful of the great purpose for which all this work was undertaken—the foundation of the new Hospital. Here again his foresight was remarkable, and he determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the best obtainable. Under these circumstances he called to his assistance his friend Richard Castle, perhaps one of the most famous architects who ever designed a building in Ireland. Castle was then at the height of his fame. He had completed the building of Kildare House, now known as Leinster House, and was engaged on the building of Carton in County Kildare. There is reason to believe that Mosse and Castle were close personal friends, and that the latter gave his professional services gratuitously to the charity, for no mention is made in any of the

[1] 'Delany,' vol. iii, p. 18.

THE ENTRANCE HALL OF THE HOSPITAL.

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accounts of the Hospital of payments to him. The design for the Hospital was probably the last great work of Castle, and unfortunately he did not live to see his work carried out, as on February 19th, 1750/51, he died suddenly at Carton. The following announcement of his death was made in the 'Dublin Gazette': "He was an ornament to his time in Architecture, in which his judgement was solid, his taste pure, and his invention quick and free. To him this Kingdom owes the true beauty and taste of Architecture as well as the spirit of building well." This spirit of building well on the plans laid down by Castle is admirably exemplified by the present Hospital, which remains not the least among the noteworthy monuments of the great Georgian architect.

Before the death of Castle the plans of the Hospital seem to have been completed, and their execution was entrusted to one John Ensor, then rising into fame as a disciple of Castle. Nor does the death of the original architect seem to have materially delayed the foundation of the Hospital, which was announced to take place on July 9th, 1751.

Hospital building in the middle of the eighteenth century was a much more serious problem that at the present day, when the plans are merely handed over to a contractor, who undertakes the whole responsibility under the supervision of the architect. The Lying-In Hospital, just as Steevens' Hospital before it, was built by direct labour, and the duty devolved on Mosse of providing the materials as well as engaging the workmen.

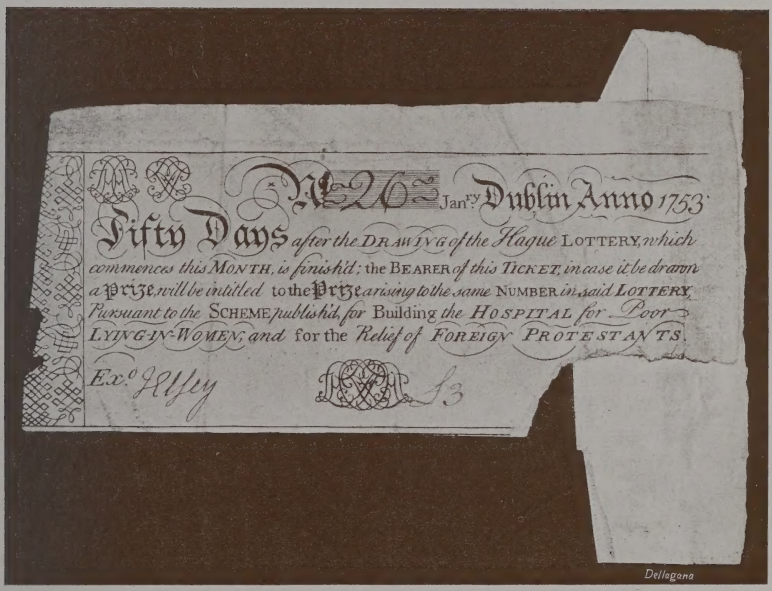
By Tuesday, July 9th, 1751, everything was ready for the great function of laying the foundation stone. The day's proceedings were to begin at 9 o'clock a.m. with a breakfast provided gratis for the company, and this was to be followed by "a grand concert of vocal and instrumental musick" in the New Gardens. All subscribers and intending subscribers were invited to be present and tickets of admission were issued both at the Hospital in George's Lane and at the New Gardens. At "ten of the clock" the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Thomas Taylor, together with "the masters, wardens, and members of the several corporations" assembled at the Tholsel and from there proceeded in state to the New Gardens in Great Britain Street. To the Lord Mayor was given the honour of laying the first stone of the new Hospital, "when his Lordship left five guineas on the stone for the workmen." The 'Dublin Gazette' tells us that "there was the greatest appearance of nobility and gentry assembled at the breakfast given on that occasion that has been known when everything was conducted with the greatest regularity and decency." Though everything looked so prosperous, Mosse, we are told, assured an intimate friend that when the first stone was laid he was "barely

worth £500, and although he knew the Hospital would cost him above £20,000 yet he never despaired of seeing it finished."[1]

The next few years was a time of strenuous work for Mosse. We can well imagine how he supervised every inch of the work done at the new building, and we know that that work was pushed forward with extraordinary rapidity. At the same time he had the general management of the entertainments in the New Gardens to look after, he had to provide funds for the carrying on of the work, and had the sole medical care of the hospital in George's Lane. The work in the old Hospital was increasing rapidly, and in 1749 the number of beds had been increased to twenty-eight. By September of that year 1237 women had been delivered of 1259 children in the hospital since its opening, and of this number only eleven women had died "of fevers," and forty-six children "chiefly of fits." In the following year the number delivered was 390 with a mortality of four women and twenty-two children. From September, 1750, to September, 1751, 336 women were delivered with the deaths of four women and twenty-four children. Such a record shows that not only was there plenty of work done, but that the quality of the work was good.

In order to place the entertainments at the New Gardens on a satisfactory footing, Mosse summoned the subscribers to meet there on February 12th, 1750/51, and then submitted for their approval the following scheme, which was unanimously agreed to and which formed the basis of the arrangements for several years: "That the season be from this time to the 29th of September next, and a gentleman subscribing one guinea shall be at liberty to walk at all times in said garden, and to bowl in said bowling green, and free to all musical entertainments during the season (illumination nights excepted) then to pay but a British sixpence: He will also be entitled to a ticket for two ladies, or to two tickets each for a single lady, who showing the ticket to the doorkeeper of the garden, will be admitted to walk at all times in said garden during the season (illumination nights and concerts in the new long room excepted). A lady subscribing a guinea will be free from this time to the 29th of September following to all entertainments in said garden, whether illuminations or otherwise. Gentlemen that are not subscribers are to pay on illumination nights one English shilling, on concert mornings or evenings one English shilling and at other times for the liberty of walking or bowling in the garden a British sixpence. Ladies that are not subscribers are to pay on illumination nights one English shilling, on concert mornings a British sixpence, and for the liberty of walking, if they have not a subscriber's ticket, a

[1] Wilde, 'Mosse.


№ 20 Jan.ry Dublin Anno 1753
Fifty Days after the DRAWING of the Hague LOTTERY, which
commences this MONTH, is finisht: the BEARER of this TICKET, in case it be drawn
a PRIZE, will be intitled to the PRIZE arising to the same NUMBER in said LOTTERY,
Pursuant to the SCHEME publisht for Building the HOSPITAL for Poor
LYING-IN-WOMEN; and for the Relief of FOREIGN PROTESTANTS.
Ex.o Hussey
£3
Dellegana

A TICKET IN THE LOTTERY PROMOTED BY MOSSE IN 1753.

British sixpence." The first concert of the season was to be held on Monday, February 18th, at twelve noon, and afterwards one was to be held every Monday and Thursday during the spring season. Mr. Sullivan and Miss Oldmixon were engaged "for the vocal parts," and the whole performance was to be conducted by Signor Marella. The entertainments thus inaugurated proved a decided success, and for many years provided a considerable income for the Hospital.

Mosse, however, fully recognised that some extraordinary source of income must be found if he were to continue the building with any hope of completing it in a reasonable time, and under these circumstances he again turned his attention to the lotteries. Since his first attempt in this department of finance in 1746 he had managed several lotteries that had brought him in considerable sums of money. In June, 1751, he started a lottery which was to be for the joint benefit of the Charitable Infirmary, Mercer's Hospital, the Hospital for Incurables, and the Lying-in Hospital. In this lottery 70,000 tickets at half a guinea each were to be issued, which it was calculated would bring in a sum of £39,812 10*s*. Out of this £35,356 were to be paid in prizes, leaving a little over £1000 for the benefit of each of the hospitals. The chances were to be determined by the drawing of the State Lottery in London, which was advertised to begin on November 11th, 1751. In this lottery Mosse departed from his former custom of making the Hospital the office, and the Philharmonic Room in Fishamble Street was selected for this purpose, and there the prizes were to be paid to the winners by Messrs. John Cuming and John Smart.

A sum of £1000 would, of course, be a welcome addition to the building fund, but it was far from enough for the completion of the Hospital, and in the following year Mosse undertook another scheme. By this, besides the four Hospitals, the city was to benefit by two thirds of the profits, which were to be given towards the rebuilding of Essex Bridge, which had partially fallen down in the previous year. Each of the Hospitals and the city were to contribute a sum of £500 out of their profits to the Lying-in Hospital in consideration of the work that Mosse had done in managing the scheme. It was proposed to draw this lottery in Dublin, and Mosse procured wheels for that purpose at considerable expense. At the last moment, when all the tickets were sold, the Lords Justices refused to sanction the drawing, and in the 'Dublin Gazette' for January 2nd, 1752–3, there was published a notice of the withdrawal of the lottery, and an intimation was given that the money would be returned to the ticket holders. The whole expense of this failure

fell on Mosse, for the other parties in the scheme refused to share any of the losses. Mosse made every effort to overcome the legal difficulty, and even, it is said, went to London, where he offered the Duchess of Athol £1000 if she would obtain leave from the Duke for the drawing to be held in the Isle of Man. All efforts were, however, fruitless, and the lottery had to be abandoned.

In connection with this an interesting document has been preserved among the Hospital papers.[1] It is addressed to Mrs. Mosse by William Reeves and dated "Dublin, Septr ye 27th 1762." In this letter Reeves states that "your late worthy husband Doctr. Bartholomew Mosse . . . employ'd me some years ago to go over to the Isle of Man to procure liberty to have the lottery drew there (it being supressed in this Kingdom) and did all in my power to serve him on yt occasion, he promised me 30 guineas for my trouble besides all my expence & charges wh I now send you. I made application to him to settle the acct. and was al'ways out of cash oweing to the great expence of the Hospital."

The bill runs as follows:

"Freight of a vessel to ye Isle of Man 12 guins .	£12	12	0
Expences for 21 days @ ½ guin per day . .	11	0	6
The Doctor's promice for my trouble 30 guins British	31	10	0
	£55	2	6"

To some extent the Hospital was recouped in the following year by a fortunate chance in the Dutch lottery. Mosse had taken over a certain number of tickets in this lottery for sale for the benefit of the Hospital. Handbills were distributed through the city stating that these tickets would be on sale at the Weavers' Hall in the Coombe, and that the profits from the sale of them would be shared by the Lying-in Hospital and the Society for the Relief of Foreign Protestants in Dublin. Both the Weavers and the Society repudiated any connection with the scheme, and the tickets were left largely on Mosse's hands. He, however, secured two prizes in the lottery, one for £260 and one for £2000 Irish money. In 1753 and again in the following year Mosse planned schemes in connection with the Dutch lottery, and in the latter year hoped to make enough money to finish the building of the Hospital. It was expected that this scheme would produce £10,000 for the benefit of the Hospital, but owing to unfortunate chances only £2450

[1] Portfolio No. 42.

were secured. In connection with this scheme an insurance had been effected, and the fortunate prize-winners were duly paid till their demands were reduced to about £2000. As the remainder of the money collected had been already expended on the Hospital Mosse was unable to satisfy these claims till the insurance was paid. Though their liability was admitted by the insurers it was not discharged, and Mosse started an action at law for the recovery of the money. This action does not seem to have come to trial when the death of Mosse put an end to the suit.

In July of 1754 Mosse went to London in connection with the insurance of this Dutch lottery scheme, and on his way back to Dublin later in the year he was arrested at Holyhead at the suit of a London creditor for an alleged debt of £200. He was taken a prisoner to Beaumauris, but managed to escape through the window of the house he was detained in, and crossing an arm of the sea in an open boat concealed himself for some weeks in a cottage in the mountains of Wales. This incident greatly damaged Mosse's credit and was a source of rejoicing to his enemies, who believed that they saw in it the justification of the aspersions they had so often made against his character. To silence these charges Mosse, early in 1755, published a full statement of the accounts of all his lottery schemes, by which, if he did not convince his enemies, he at all events fully justified his conduct and cleared his character in the eyes of all right-thinking people.

By these various schemes Mosse had raised for the charity upwards of £8000 at considerable cost and labour to himself. He was quite prepared to continue this labour, and convinced of his ability to raise more money; but such schemes were then strictly forbidden by law, and popular opinion was much more against them than it had been some years earlier. Under these circumstances Mosse, wisely we think, abandoned altogether this method of collecting money, and we are glad to think that the new plan he adopted was not only more remunerative, but also more creditable to the country.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHARTER AND THE COMPLETION OF THE NEW HOSPITAL

While Mosse was thus engaged in gathering money to support the existing hospital and to pay for the work being done on the new building in Great Britain Street, he was not unmindful of the future requirements of the new institution. The Hospital in George's Lane was a small private venture, managed by a small, self-elected board of governors, but Mosse wished the new Hospital to be a great national institution. With this end in view he had in 1752 petitioned the Crown for a Royal Charter to incorporate a Board of Governors for the management and control of the trust, and give to it a permanence which no private board could guarantee. This petition was presented to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by several of the Lords, Clergy, and Gentlemen of His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, and his Excellency was pleased to refer it, on March 12th, 1752, to his Majesty's Attorney- and Solicitor-General for their report. On May 5th these officers reported favourably on the petition, stating that in their opinion the granting the petitioners such a charter would be of great benefit and advantage to the kingdom.[1]

The Duke of Dorset forwarded this report to the Earl of Holderness, together with a strong letter of recommendation and a request that he would bring the matter before the Lords Justices of the Regency, and obtain from them a Patent for the Charter.

In a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, dated "Whitehall, 16th day of June 1752," the Lords Justices gave the required authority for incorporating the "Governors and Guardians of the hospital for the relief of poor Lying-in Women in Dublin." The first Governors were to be His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Dorset, the Most Rev. Father in God George Stone, Archbishop of Armagh, the Right Hon. Robert Lord Newport, Lord Chancellor,

[1] 'King and Queen's Letter-Book,' 1752–3.

the Right Hon. Henry Boyle, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon. John Cooke, Lord Mayor of Dublin, the Most Rev. Father in God Charles Cobbe, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, the Rev. Father in God Thomas Fletcher, Lord Bishop of Kildare, the Right Hon. John Lord Viscount Molesworth, Commander of the Forces, the Rev. Dr. Francis Corbett, Dean of St. Patrick's, the Rev. Richard Pococke, Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of Dublin, Thomas Morgan, Esq., Recorder of the City of Dublin, James Taylor and John Tew, Esqrs., High Sheriffs, all for the time being. The Right Hon. James, Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Kildare for ever. The Right Hon. John Petty, Lord Viscount Fitzmaurice, the Right Rev. Father in God Robert Clayton, Lord Bishop of Clogher, the Right Rev. Father in God Jemmet Browne, Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, the Right Rev. Father in God Robert Downes, Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Gore, Bart., the Right Hon. William Conolly, Esq., the Right Hon. John Ponsonby, Esq., the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart., Hercules Longford Rowley, Nathaniel Clements, William Henry Dawson, William Forward, Esqs., Ralph Sampson, Esq., Edward Stirling, Esq., the Rev. George Leslie, Doctor of Divinity, and "Bartholomew Mosse, Doctor of Physick." [1]

The Hospital was to have one "President, six Vice-Presidents, one Treasurer, one Secretary and one Master." The Duke of Dorset was to be the first President. The Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Earl of Kildare, the Bishop of Clogher, Sir William Conolly and Sir Thomas Taylor were to be the six first Vice-Presidents, while Ralph Sampson was to be the first Treasurer, and Edward Stirling the first Secretary. Mosse was to be the first Master, and "to continue in his office of Master of the sd. Hospital during his natural life unless he shall request to be removed."

The letter then goes on to set out in detail the various provisions for the management of the Hospital similar to what were subsequently contained in the Charter of the Hospital. Thus, everything seemed to be in perfect order and one would have expected the grant of the Charter to have followed at once. Official delays, however, occurred, and it was not till nearly four and a half years afterwards that the letters patent passed the Great Seal.

In 1755 Mosse found that he was no longer able to raise sufficient money by "schemes" and lotteries to pay the urgent demands of the workmen engaged at the new Hospital, and he was recommended to make application for help to the Irish Parliament. This course recommended itself to him

[1] 'King and Queen's Letter-Book,' 1752–3.

at once, for if successful, not only would he obtain the necessary money, but such a grant would give to his undertaking that national character which he so much desired. Accordingly, on November 3rd, 1755, his petition was read to the House of Commons, and it was "ordered that the said petition be referred to the consideration of a Committee and that they do examine the matter thereof and report the same with their opinion thereupon to the House."[1]

In this petition Mosse grounded his claim for parliamentary aid in the first place on the work that had been done in the Hospital in George's Lane. There, from its opening in March, 1747, to September 30th, 1755, 3674 women had been delivered of 3746 children. These women were all in poor circumstances, many of them being the wives and widows of his Majesty's soldiers and sailors. The Hospital had also helped to prevent "the formerly frequent practice of abandoning, or perhaps murdering new born infants." The work of the Hospital also had made it unnecessary for students intending to practise midwifery "to resort to France or other foreign parts for instruction and experience." Suitable women, too, were instructed, who, when duly qualified, received certificates, and then were able to carry their knowledge into "the remoter parts of the kingdom." Further, he stated that, since the Hospital had been established in Dublin, so beneficial had it been found, three similar institutions had been established in London. The letter of the Lords Justices of the Regency was quoted as a guarantee of the Hospital work, as was the support the institution had received since its foundation in the form of benefactions, subscriptions and legacies. Mosse then says that he had "laboured under many and great difficulties in the support of the said charitable institution and in the building of the said new Hospital and cannot finish the same without the aid of the honorable House of Commons, having already been obliged to spend thereon a considerable sum of money out of his own fortune." On March 6th, 1756, the Right Hon. Sir Arthur Gore reported to the House "that it is the opinion of this Committee that the petitioner hath fully proved the allegation of his petition to the satisfaction of the Committee," and that the petitioner "deserves public assistance and encouragement." On March 23rd, 1756, the House resolved to address His Grace the Lord Lieutenant, "asking him to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of the House that his Majesty will be pleased out of his Royal Bounty to grant the Governors of the new Hospital for Lying-in Women in Great Britain Street Dublin, such sum or sums, not exceeding £6,000, as he shall think fit."

[1] 'House of Commons Journal,' Geo. II, 1755, p. 503.

We can well picture the delight of Mosse at this triumph. All doubt about the success of his undertaking was now set at rest, Parliament had nobly acknowledged his work, and in a way had guaranteed its accomplishment. With this guarantee Mosse again approached the Lord Lieutenant, then the Marquis of Hartington, and asked for a warrant for a Charter in accordance with the Royal letter of 1752, begging, however, that in it he might be nominated Master of the new Hospital for life, without the power of his removal being granted to the Governors. On December 2nd, 1756, this request was granted and the Charter received the sanction of His Majesty King George II. Mosse saw his enemies finally silenced, and, while the triumph was all his own, the future responsibility in his undertaking was to be shared by a representative and distinguished Board of Governors.

This Charter follows almost entirely the recommendations of the Lords Justices in their letter of 1752, and as it has been so often printed it is unnecessary here to recapitulate its provisions. It is sufficient to say that under those provisions the Hospital is still wisely governed. The provision " that all Students in Physic, Surgeons, or Apprentices of Surgeons, and all such others, whether men or women, as intend to practise Midwifery, and shall be approved of by the said Master, shall and may have full liberty to attend the said Hospital and be instructed under the said Master and his two assistants " has been availed of to an extent that could hardly be anticipated at the time. Further, it was laid down that after the death, resignation or removal for reasonable cause, of Mosse, who was appointed the first Master, " No person, however deserving, shall be capable of being elected Master of the said Hospital who has been Master for seven years, either successively or at different times, but amounting in the whole to seven years." This wise provision has, perhaps more than any other, ensured that high standard of efficiency which has marked the long history of the Hospital. Each successive Master has striven to improve on the work of his predecessor, and no room was left for the development of that complacency or apathy which only too often is the result of a life tenure of office.

While this work was being done for the future conduct and management of the Hospital, Mosse was at the same time pushing on with feverish activity the building of its structure. Henry Darley, the stone-cutter, who had built Kildare House under the supervision of Castle, John Semple, the bricklayer, who had obtained the contract for rebuilding Essex Bridge, William Barnes, the carpenter, Alexander Brennan, the plumber, and William Lee, the plasterer, were the chief workmen employed. They were the best to be had

in Dublin at a time when some of the noblest buildings of the city were erected, and splendidly they carried out that "spirit of building well," the introduction of which the 'Dublin Gazette' had attributed to Castle.

Mosse desired that the Hospital should be in every sense a monument to the city, but he wished that the Hospital Chapel should represent the highest triumph of the builders' art. This Chapel, situated in the centre of the building, over the entrance-hall, was eighty-six feet square by thirty feet high, and was approached by a grand stone staircase with an elaborately wrought-iron balustrade. The pews and fittings were made of the finest mahogany, and the gallery railing of wrought-iron was to be richly gilded. For the decoration of the Chapel he brought over specially from Italy Mr. Bartholomew Cramillion, an artist in stucco work, and agreed to pay him two hundred guineas for the altar-piece and three hundred guineas for his work on the ceiling. All this work Cramillion faithfully and brilliantly executed "to the well liking of Dr. Mosse," and to the admiration of many since. The present apparently unfinished condition of the ceiling has given rise to an interesting, but we fear an unsubstantiated story of this artist. It is said that the artist wished to make this ceiling the masterpiece of his life's work, and that having completed the outlying parts of the decoration he returned to Italy to elaborate his design for the remainder. On his way back to Ireland to carry out this design we are told that the ship in which he sailed was lost at sea, and that with it the artist and his plans perished.[1] Such is the story, but the facts are different. Cramillion remained in Ireland till he had completed his design and work, as he says, "to the well liking of Dr. Mosse," and for this work he was paid by the Governors of the Hospital after the death of Mosse. Cramillion had finished his work in August of 1758, and it was the intention of Mosse to have the vacant space in the centre of the ceiling, as well as the four outlying shields, decorated by oil paintings. With this object in view he wrote on August 1st, 1758, to Mr. Cipriani, of London, enclosing him a plan of the ceiling, and asking him to submit designs for paintings for this purpose. In this letter Mosse says that the centre of the ceiling is prepared for painting in oil colours, and he asks Cipriani to come to Dublin and view the place, when they could "fix the price and subjects much easier." During the following winter several letters passed between Mosse and Cipriani in which the designs for the pictures were very fully discussed. It was finally agreed that Cipriani should submit what he calls "*un modelle finits* of the whole; that is a picture of a small size, that will give you an

[1] 'Chart,' p. 292.

THE GRAND STAIRCASE, LOOKING INTO THE CHAPEL.

idea, and a very full idea, of the grand picture to be made according to your wishes."[1] For this sketch, whether approved or not, Mosse was to pay forty guineas, twenty before it was started and twenty on its completion, and if then it proved satisfactory the artist was prepared to treat as regards terms, and hoped to be able to come to Ireland in the following spring to carry out the work.

The illness and death of Mosse early in 1759 put an end to this plan of decoration, and though his executors offered Cipriani the twenty guineas for the completed picture, the artist declined to part with it since his further services were not to be called for. In consequence of this the ceiling of the chapel has remained ever since in the condition in which it was left by Cramillion in 1758. Mosse also ordered an organ from Snetzler, of London, which, however, was found to be too large for the Chapel and was subsequently erected in the assembly rooms. His proposal for "a chiming clock and a ring of small bells for the Steeple of the Hospital" had to be abandoned owing to the opposition of the ladies living in the neighbourhood, who feared it might disturb their morning sleep.

The Charter having been signed on December 2nd, 1756, Mosse called together, on December 7th following, the first general meeting of the Governors. The Earl of Kildare was in the Chair and the following Governors were present: Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, Right Rev. the Bishop of Clogher, Right Rev. the Bishop of Raphoe, Rev. the Dean of St. Patrick's, the Sheriffs of the City of Dublin, Right Hon. Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart., Nathaniel Clements, William Forward, Ralph Sampson, William Whittingham, Ellis Price, Doctor Mosse, and Edward Stirling, Secretary. At this meeting Mosse presented His Majesty's Royal Charter, which was read, and he was requested to have it printed and circulated among the Governors. He was also requested to prepare a design for a seal for the Corporation and submit it for approval, and to prepare proper books of accounts, "furniture and other things necessary for the sitting of the Governors." The meeting then constituted the Governors present together with his Grace the Lord Primate, the Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby, the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Gore, the Archdeacon of Dublin, and Dr. John Whittingham, or any five of them, as a Committee of Management for the affairs of the Hospital. The Governors directed application to be made to the Lords Justices for their warrant for the Parliamentary grant of £6000, and that the money be lodged in the bank of Henry Mitchell and Co.,

[1] Wilde, 'Mosse.'

and paid to the order of Ralph Sampson, Esq., Treasurer. Thus we see that the Governors, while ready to take their share in the responsibility for the Hospital, wisely left the details of its management in the hands of Mosse. The members of the Committee also adopted a similar course, and at their meeting on the following Friday contented themselves with asking for a statement of the accounts for building the Hospital and for a legal opinion on the declaration of trust conveying to the Governors "the ground whereon the Hospital stands." At the meeting on December 17th the accounts for the building were produced, and it was ordered that a sum of £5654 13*s.* 10*d.* should be paid in discharge of the same, the Treasurer reporting that he had received £5820 as the Parliamentary grant, "there being deducted at the Treasury £150 for poundage and for pells £30." Mr. John Ensor was called before the meeting, and the Chairman, the Bishop of Clogher, returned to him the thanks of the Corporation for his care in superintending the building of the Hospital.

The building was now rapidly approaching completion, or rather, a sufficient completion, to warrant the Governors admitting patients, and on February 9th, 1757, Mosse was requested to prepare, for the latter end of May, "fifty bedsteads, with straw mattress, hair mattress, and one pair of broadcloth blankets, two under blankets, one pair of linen curtains, bolster and pillow, two pair and a half of sheets, a pair of pillow cases and a quilt for each." At the same time "it was resolved that the hospital should be prepared for the reception of patients on the fourth day of June next being the anniversary of the birthday of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." On May 6th, 1757, the first quarterly board met, and Lord Shannon, Henry Singleton, Master of the Rolls, Thomas Loftus, Esq., and Richard Levinge, Esq., "as benefactors were elected members of the corporation."

Things, however, did not progress quite so quickly as the Governors anticipated, and at the meeting on May 11th the Committee decided to postpone the opening of the Hospital until some time in the winter.

During this time Mosse was busily engaged in furthering his project of making the new Hospital a great national institution. On October 14th, 1757, he presented a petition to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of Dublin, praying for assistance for the Hospital.[1] He says that the fifty beds already erected there have been distributed among "twelve wards four of which contain eight beds each, that one of those large wards is called the Parliament Ward, distinguished by the King's Arms, and another the City of

[1] 'C. A. R.,' vol. x, p. 298.

Dublin Ward, distinguished by the City Arms. That the expense of erecting each bed, with its necessary furniture, according to a pattern agreed to by the Governors, is £12 15*s.* 9*d.*, and that the expense of supporting each bed for the first year will amount to £12 10*s.* 0*d.*, and each bed may relieve sixteen women in said time, so that the expense of the beds for the City Ward amounts to £102 6*s.* 0*d.*, and the support for same for one year £100, which may relieve in said time 128 women and as many children." In reply to this petition "it was ordered that the City Treasurer do, on the Lord Mayor's warrant, pay the petitioner £102 6*s.* 0*d.*, being the expense of erecting eight beds in the City Ward in the Lying-in Hospital." A similar petition was presented to the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of Queen's County, Mosse's native county, and they voted £26 14*s.* 7½*d.* for erecting a bed and supporting it for one year. This bed was "to be called the Queen's County bed and distinguished by an inscription in golden letters in a stucco panel over the same, and is to be particularly set apart for the relief of poor women of that county and such others as shall be recommended by the gentlemen thereof."

Mosse hoped that this worthy example would be followed "by the gentlemen of all the other counties of this Kingdom, as the said hospital (besides preserving the lives and relieving the miseries of numberless women and children) will be of general advantage by admitting such prudent, discreet women as shall be recommended by each county, to be instructed in Midwifery under the Master of said hospital, who, when duly qualified, may return and settle in their own counties, which will be a means of preventing the unhappy effects owing to the ignorance of the generality of country midwives."[1] This hope was not fulfilled, but at the quarterly meeting of the Board on November 4th, 1757, Mosse was able to report "that Charles Gardiner, Esq., hath erected one bed, at his own expense, which he will support annually." Also that the Earl of Kildare had ordered two beds, and the Bishop of Clogher, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and Nathaniel Clements had each given one. At the same meeting the Board unanimously elected the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant, President of the Hospital. On November 11th the Earl of Kildare announced to the Committee that His Excellency had accepted the position, and had appointed Thursday, December 8th, 1757, as the day on which he would open the Hospital.

The old Hospital in George's Lane was now closed, and the interest in the lease disposed of to the Governors of the Lock Hospital, who announced on November 1st, 1757, that they would "there receive all patients for the

[1] 'Dublin Gazette,' 16, iv, 1757.

future."[1] This hospital had been opened in Rainsford Street on April 7th, 1755. It continued to occupy the house in George's Lane till 1767, and then moved to Clarendon Street, where it remained till, in 1778, the Governors purchased the Buckingham Hospital at Donnybrook. In 1792 an exchange was effected between the Governors of the Lock and the Governors of the Hospital for Incurables, whereby each hospital acquired its present site.

Thus ended, after twelve and a half years, the connection of the Hospital with the old house in George's Lane. This house now disappears from our history, but with its disappearance, phœnix-like, the far more splendid institution in Great Britain Street arose to carry on ever since the work so well begun. The old Hospital is worthy of memory, not only for what it gave rise to, but also for the work that was done in it, the first of our lying-in hospitals. During the twelve and a half years that it had served as a lying-in hospital 3975 women had been admitted to its wards, and were delivered of 2101 boys and 1948 girls, seventy-four women having had twins. Of these forty-four women died, "mostly of fever several days after they were safely delivered." Two hundred and eighty-eight children died, "chiefly of fits," and 119 were "still-born." This gives the mortality among the women as 1·10 per cent., and among the children of 10 per cent., surely not a bad record for the time. The total expenditure in the Hospital during this period was £3913 13*s.* 0¼*d.*, or less than one pound a head for the women delivered. Had Mosse done nothing else during this twelve and a half years than achieve this remarkable result he would have earned our gratitude, but, as we have seen, this was only a part, and not the most difficult part, of the great work which he crowded into his short life.

[1] 'Dublin Gazette,' i, xi, 1757.

CHAPTER V

THE MASTERSHIP OF MOSSE

The money which Parliament had granted to Mosse was almost at once used up by the payment of debts incurred in the building of the Hospital, and as the work was still unfinished, there was urgent need for a further supply. Under these circumstances the Governors again applied to Parliament for help, their petition being presented to the House of Commons on November 9th, 1757. In this petition it was pointed out that a further grant of money would be necessary to finish the Hospital, and Parliament was requested to inquire into the application of the money already granted, "and to take the premises into your tender consideration and to do therein as to your honours and your great justice and goodness shall seem meet." The valuable work that Mosse had done was pointed out, and though no definite prayer was put forward on his behalf, it was stated that by that work he "hath injured himself greatly and hurt himself and family in their circumstances."[1]

This petition was referred to a committee of the House, and on the following day the Hon. Mr. Wesley reported from that committee the following resolutions: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their Petition. Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that the Petitioners have expended the sum of £6,000 granted the last session of Parliament, on the said new Hospital in *Great Britain Street* as directed by this House. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Petitioners deserve public assistance and encouragement to finish and complete the said Hospital. Resolved, that it appears to the Committee that *Bartholomew Mosse*, Master of the said Hospital and one of the Petitioners, hath superintended the building of the said new Hospital with great Care and Œconomy. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the said *Bartholomew Mosse* merits a Reward from Parliament, for his great Care and Diligence in attending the Lying-in Hospital in *George's-lane* thirteen years, and superintending the new Hospital in *Great Britain-street* nine years and a half, by which he hath injured himself greatly in his Profes-

[1] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. x, p. 105.

sion and hurt himself and his Family in their circumstances, having never received any Reward."

These resolutions were then referred to the Committee of the whole House appointed to take into consideration the supply granted to his Majesty. On November 11th the Chancellor of the Exchequer reported the decision of the Committee to the House, and it was resolved "that a sum of £6,000 be given to the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the relief of poor Lying-in Women in Dublin to compleat and finish the said Hospital, to be accounted for to Parliament." It was further resolved that "a sum of £2,000 be given to *Bartholomew Mosse*, Master of the said Hospital, as a reward for his great Care and Diligence in Attending the Lying-in Hospital in *George's-lane*, thirteen years, and superintending the new Hospital in *Great Britain-street* nine years and a half, by which he hath greatly injured himself in his profession, and hurt his Family in their Circumstances, having never received any reward." These resolutions were agreed to unanimously by the House. It is greatly to the credit of the Irish House of Commons that they thus again recognised the value of the Lying-in Hospital to the country, and that they extended this recognition to its founder, generously giving to him such a reward for his long and valuable services.

This timely aid from Parliament must have greatly relieved the minds of the Governors and given them confidence in their efforts to push on the work in hand. The Hospital building, though by no means finished, was considered to be sufficiently advanced for the admission of patients, and the Governors determined not further to delay the opening ceremony. The wards on the upper story were practically completed, and it was in them that the patients were first to be housed. Great importance was attached to this opening ceremony, and everyone desired that it should be as impressive as possible. The programme for the day was announced in the 'Dublin Gazette',[1] where it was stated that the proceedings would begin with a public breakfast, "and a grand concert of vocal and instrumental musick in the Garden and Coffee room," tickets of admission to which at half a guinea each might be had at the Hospital. On November 25th there was a further notice in the 'Gazette' "to acquaint all ladies, gentlemen, citizens, strangers, etc., that are desirous of seeing said Hospital that proper persons will attend, from eight o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, to show all the apartments from Monday the 28th inst., to Saturday following, after which time no person whatsoever will be admitted to any of the rooms till after the said 8th of December."

[1] 'Dublin Gazette,' 19, xi, 1757.

N°558

To Doctor *Bartholomew Moſſe*, Maſter of the LYING-IN-HOSPITAL in *Great-Britain-ſtreet*, DUBLIN.

SIR,

WE the Miniſter and Church-Wardens of the Pariſh of *St. Thomas* —— recommend *Esther Flannagan* —— as a proper Object; and if upon Examination ſhe ſhall appear ſuch to you, deſire ſhe may be received into the Hoſpital. Given under our Hands this 17th Day of *January* 1759

Sam. Whaley Miniſter.

Church-Wardens.

The following RULES are to be obſerved by Perſons recommending Patients, and by the Patients recommended.

THAT the Patient muſt attend at the Hoſpital on *Monday*, *Wedneſday*, or *Friday*, between the Hours of Ten and Twelve in the Forenoon, with her Certificate, which (if approved of) is to be Signed by the Maſter of the Hoſpital, or by ſuch Perſon as he ſhall appoint. And ſuch Certificate, ſo ſigned, ſhall intitle the Owner thereof, or the Perſon thereby recommended, to be received into the Hoſpital, when ſhe comes to her Time of Lying-in (provided ſhe ſubmit to the Rules of the Houſe.)

THAT no Woman great with Child is to be received into the Hoſpital, if ſhe hath any Contagious Diſtemper, or the Venereal Diſorder.

THAT no Money or other Gratuity is to be given by any poor Woman or Patient, or by any Perſon on her Account, to any Officer, Pupil, Nurſekeeper or Servant of the Hoſpital, on any Pretence whatſoever, on pain of ſuch Patient being immediately diſcharged from the Hoſpital.

THAT every Patient ſhall, at the time of her Admittance or Reception into the Hoſpital, be as clean in her Cloaths, as her Circumſtances will allow, and free from Vermin.

THAT every Patient, on coming into the Hoſpital, muſt bring with her proper Cloathing for dreſſing her Child when ſhe leaves the Hoſpital.

THAT no Patient ſhall preſume to ſend out of the Hoſpital any Part of her Proviſions, or other thing belonging to the Houſe, and that any one found Guilty of the above Crime, or ſecreting any Cloaths or Goods belonging to any of the Patients or Servants in the Houſe, will be proſecuted as the Law directs.

THAT no Relation, Friend or Follower, ſhall be permitted to Viſit the Patients, except between the Hours of Ten and Twelve in the Forenoon; nor then without Permiſſion from the Maſter, or from ſuch Perſon as he ſhall Authorize.

THAT every Patient muſt ſubmit to the Rules and Orders of the Houſe, or be diſcharged for Irregularity.

17 Jan^y 1759

Parish N° 24

Age 35 *William a Servant Ireland Protestant*

AN OLD ADMISSION FORM FOR PATIENTS, INITIALLED BY MOSSE.

This was the day fixed for the opening, just six years and six months since the foundation stone had been laid by the Lord Mayor. When one considers the difficulties overcome by Mosse during this time, one wonders how the work had been accomplished so quickly. We can picture the excitement of Mosse when at last the grand day arrived, and on Thursday, December 8th, 1757, the Hospital was formally declared open. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, attended by her Grace the Duchess of Bedford, and "supported by a great number of nobility and gentry," including the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the Aldermen, the Sheriffs and Common Councilmen, were received at the Hospital and entertained at the public breakfast. This function being finished the Governors formally met, with the Lord Lieutenant in the Chair, and His Excellency declared the Hospital open. The women qualified for admission were collected in the hall of the Hospital, and these were inspected by the company before they were admitted to the wards.

Each woman was clothed "in a blue Calaminco gown, a red petticoat, shift, handkerchief, cap and apron, which were given to them," and on that day in the Hospital Mary Rea and Elizabeth Knight were safely delivered of a son and daughter respectively. Such is the very meagre account that has been preserved to us of the great ceremony, and we must regret that Mrs. Delany was not present on that occasion to write one of her vivid descriptions of what must have been a curious and interesting scene. The Duke of Bedford, with all the state and pomp of his mimic sovereignty, attended by the dignitaries of Church, State and City, inspecting the poor women in their blue gowns and red petticoats, should have afforded material enough for picturesque description, but the newspapers of the day contented themselves with printing the bald statement given above, which was evidently supplied to them by the Hospital authorities. Though the ceremony may now appear to us somewhat quaint and theatrical, there can be no doubt that it marked an event of great importance in the history of the city and in the annals of Irish medicine. It also served the purpose, always dear to the heart of Mosse, of advertising the Hospital in the most public way, and we are told that on the occasion "very considerable contributions were received from the company then present."[1] The cost of this entertainment, including the clothes given to the patients, amounted to £167 17*s.* 2½*d.*, of which £1 2*s.* 9*d.* was paid to the "Lord Chancellor's cook." The sum of £182 18*s.* 2½*d.* was collected from those present.[2]

[1] 'Dublin Gazette,' 10, xii, 1757.

[2] Portfolio No. 73.

On February 3rd, 1758, the Committee met and adopted a set of rules for the management of the Hospital and for the regulation of the duties of the subordinate officers. Among these rules it is interesting to notice the very important position accorded to the "Housekeeper." To this officer was given a position second only to that of the Master, and in the Master's absence his authority devolved first on the Housekeeper, and then on one of his assistants. An important rule was, "that no officer, Assistant, Pupil, Housekeeper or Servant shall be allowed to have a wife, husband, family or followers of any kind in the Hospital." Such a rule would nowadays appear almost superfluous, but it was not so at the time at which it was made. In some other hospitals it was not uncommon to find the position of nurse almost hereditary, the father, mother and children all being in the hospital. In Steevens' Hospital such a condition of affairs existed and led to many abuses till the practice was finally forbidden by the Governors.

Very little information has come down to us about the work in the Hospital during the first years of its existence in Great Britain Street. The Board of Governors wisely left the management of details almost entirely in the hands of the Master, who was asked to select and appoint the various members of the staff, and the Treasurer was directed to pay to him such sums of money as were required for carrying on the Hospital and completing the building. Between the day the Hospital was opened and December 31st, 1757, fifty-five women were delivered in the Hospital of fifty-five children. One of these women and six children died, while three children were stillborn. In the following year the number of women delivered was 454, eight of whom had twins, giving a total of 462 children born. The death-rate was still high, for twelve women died, giving a mortality of 1 in 56·7, as compared with 1 in 55 during the previous period. The mortality among the children was also increased. In the previous period 1 in 9·1 of all the children born were lost, while 1 in 8·6 of those born alive died. During the year 1758 the corresponding figures were 1 in 8·5 of all children, and 1 in 8·3 of those born alive. The maternal mortality of under 2 per cent. was not, perhaps, excessive, but the death-rate among the children should have given the managers of the Hospital food for serious thought.

It is possible that this high death-rate was due in part to the unfinished state of the Hospital and to the newness of the officers to their work, and in part to the fact that Mosse was so fully engaged with other matters that he had not time to devote himself as much as was necessary to the care of the patients. We have no record of any actual appointment of assistant-masters

to him, but there is evidence that Mr. William Collum acted in that capacity. In a petition which he presented to the Governors shortly after the death of Mosse he states that he "hath attended the said Hospital, as Man-Midwife, since it was first opened which was on the eighth day of December, 1757; five months of which time there was not any other Assistant."[1] Collum was not, however, strictly a resident officer, for he tells us in the same petition that he "hath a family which with himself he maintained without any expense to the Hospital." In a further memorial he says that his family consisted of a "wife and child which with himself he hath maintained in lodgings contiguous to the hospital." He states further that he had delivered 432 women out of 552 delivered in the Hospital. We have no record who the other assistant was, and we have not been able to trace his name in any of the Hospital papers.

Mrs. Elizabeth Walsh was the housekeeper at the time of Mosse's death, and for her services she received £22 12*s.* 1*d.* each half year. She does not, however, appear to have been the first who held that office, for at a meeting on March 8th, 1759, it was reported that "Mrs. Miller, Superannuated Housekeeper," was in receipt of £10 a year, and "Mrs. Armstrong, superannuated Midwife," £2 a year. It is probable that both these were transferred from the old Hospital, as was Mr. John Murray, who was Secretary of the old Hospital in George's Lane, and who continued as Registrar of the new Hospital till the time of his death. These officers succeeded in working the Hospital economically during the year 1758, when the 455 patients admitted cost £727 14*s.* 8*d.*, of which £179 2*s.* 6*d.* was paid in salaries and wages. The cost of each patient, exclusive of salaries, wages and rent, was £1 1*s.* 0*d.*, and the total expense per patient £1 12*s.* 0*d.*[2]

The career of Mosse was now drawing to a close. He attended the Board meeting on the quarter day, November 3rd, 1758, but at the next meeting on February 2nd, 1759, it was stated in the minutes "Dr. Mosse ill in the House and could not attend." We know that as late as December 2nd, 1758, he was attending to business, as on that date he wrote a long letter to Mr. Cipriani, in London, on the subject of the paintings for the ceiling of the Hospital Chapel. He was, however, shortly afterwards taken ill, and was for some time confined to his room. On January 9th he signed his will, stating that he was in "perfect health and sound disposing mind and memory, praise

[1] Portfolio Nos. 56 and 57.

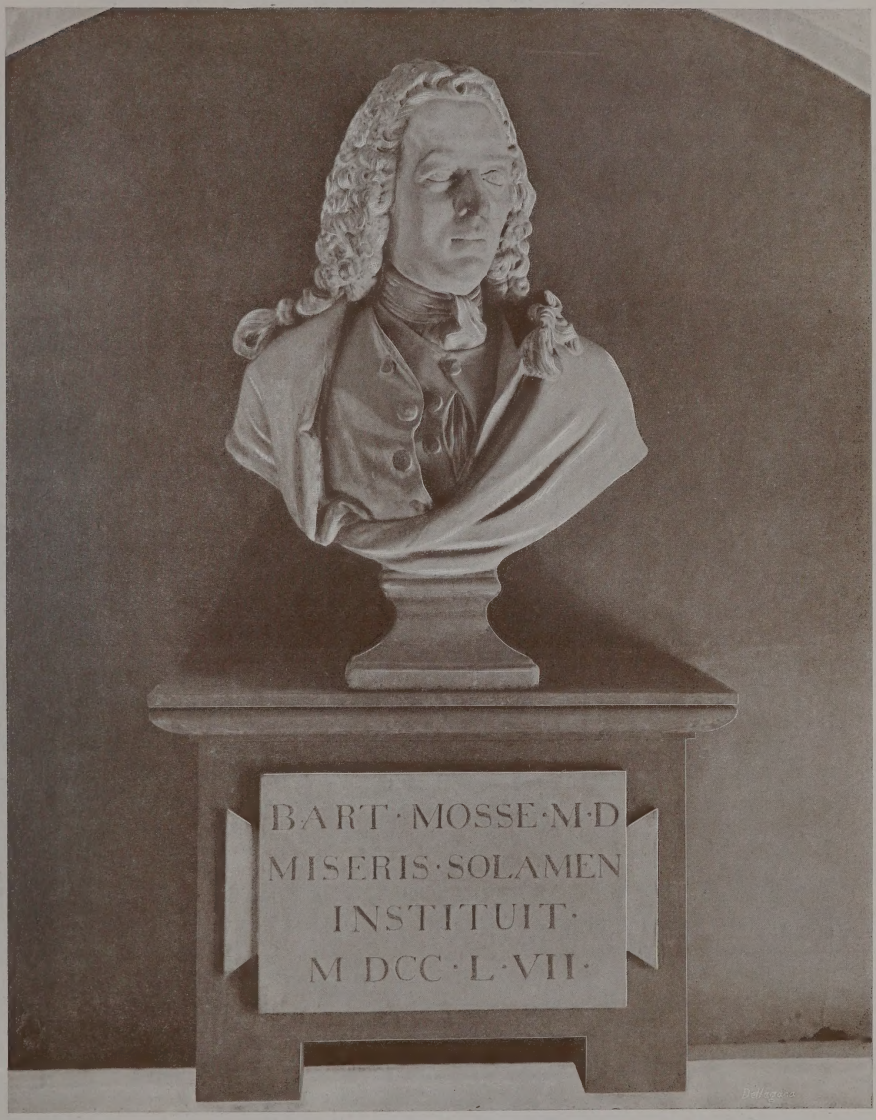
[2] Portfolio No. 82.

be to God, but calling to mind the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time when" he felt it his duty to provide for what might happen.

At the meeting of the Governors on February 2nd it was resolved "that it would be of service to this charity that a Physician be appointed to attend the patients in cases which might require his advice." It was further "ordered that Dr. Ezekiel Nesbitt (being recommended by the Master as a proper person to be appointed Physician to this Hospital) he be and is hereby appointed accordingly Physician to this Hospital." It is probable, though we are not told so, that Mosse was the first patient in the Hospital to "require his advice." Benjamin Higgins, in his manuscript history,[1] tells us that he was attended by several physicians, who, "finding all their endeavours ineffectual they advised him to return to the country." This we feel sure Mosse was loth to do, but a friend, Alderman Peter Barre, offered the loan of his house at Cullenswood, then situated quite in the country and on the opposite side of the city from the Hospital. To this house Mosse was moved, and there, on February 16th, 1759, he died in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was buried in the cemetery at Donnybrook, but even as long ago as 1846 Sir William Wilde was unable to trace there any stone to his memory or record of his actual grave.

It would seem almost as if Mosse had a premonition of his early death, and in consequence exerted himself to his utmost capacity to fulfil the command to work while it is day. Just thirteen years and eleven months elapsed from the day the Hospital in George's Lane was opened till the time of his death, and yet what a work had he accomplished. Although at the time of his death the Hospital building was not completed, it was sufficiently far advanced to ensure its success, and to justify him in looking back with pride on what he had done. We wish that he could also have looked forward and seen the brilliant career before his Hospital, both in the sphere of philanthropy and in the advancement of science. We say advisedly his Hospital, for both in the conception of the design and in its practical realisation the work was all his own. In spite of the high place among his contemporaries which we should assign to one who had worked so well, singularly little information has come down to us about the man himself. We must judge him by his work and by our knowledge of how he did that work. Tried by this standard two characteristics stand prominently forward—his indomitable energy and his supreme self-confidence. Having once determined on a plan of action he never for a moment questioned whether he was right or wrong,

[1] Wilde, 'Mosse.'



BARTHOLOMEW MOSSE—BUST IN THE HALL OF THE HOSPITAL.

see page 42.

whether it was practicable or not, whether he would fail or succeed. Being quite certain that he was right, and that he could succeed in his enterprise, he set himself to overcome every difficulty in his way with an energy and a perseverance which almost ensured success. But such qualities by themselves, though they may carry one far on the road to success, are not all that is necessary. Many have had equal self-confidence and energy, yet have failed to attain their ends. Mosse, however, was essentially practical in his conceptions. He seems only to have formed those designs which he could accomplish, if not in their entirety, at all events sufficiently so to justify him in calling his results successful. We see this in his lottery schemes, for though he had eventually to abandon this method of getting money, he had first succeeded in making by them upwards of £11,000. Again, in his plans for making the New Garden remunerative the design was novel, yet he succeeded in making the scheme produce about £400 a year towards the funds of the Hospital. Without his extraordinary energy no man could have hoped for success from either of these undertakings. Like others in whom these qualities of self-confidence and energy are so highly developed, we have no doubt that he had an intolerance of criticism which made him difficult as a fellow worker. His quarrel with Thomas Sheridan and Faulkner was, we feel sure, largely of his own making. The opposition, too, with which his projects met from his fellow professional men, though by no means to their credit, may have been largely due to the self-assertion which his confidence in himself made him feel justified in showing towards them.

With all this we cannot help feeling that he had in him in no small measure that quality which wins for its possessor love, respect, and hearty co-operation, from those who worked with him. We see this in the way in which he carried with him in all his plans the members of the committee of the old Hospital, and especially in the way in which he attached to himself Benjamin Higgins. Higgins was early associated with Mosse as a kind of secretary, subsequently he was made clerk, and in 1760 Registrar of the Hospital. In this latter capacity he served faithfully till his death in 1796. It is to the manuscript history, which his love of the Hospital and its first master induced him to write, that we owe most of our knowledge of the early days of the institution.

We find no trace of self-seeking in any of the work done by Mosse. His Hospital was everything, and though he claimed honour as its founder, it was only through it and its success that he made any such claim. There is no evidence that he ever used the Hospital for his own advantage, either in the

way of making money by it, or to advance his professional reputation. Indeed, for the Hospital he seems to have sacrificed his entire income, and to have abandoned any hope of rising to professional eminence. Part of the large sums of money which passed through his hands might easily have been diverted to his own and his family's wants, but instead of that anything which he had to spare from the household economies was devoted to the Hospital. His experience as chief of the old Hospital, and the success obtained by the practice in its wards, might well have been used as a justifiable advertisement for himself, but instead it is always the Hospital which is put forward. "The hospital has succeeded, therefore support the hospital" is always the burden of his petition. How many of us would be tempted to say rather—"Employ its Master"?

Of his home life we have practically no information. His two children who survived him, Charles and Jane, born in May, 1745, and 1746, respectively, were too young at the time of his death to be in any way associated with him in his work. In his will he speaks in affectionate terms of his wife and children, and says he disposes of his money "in order, as far as in me lies, to make my dear wife and two children as happy and easy in the enjoyment of the same." It is characteristic of him that in this will the Hospital comes first, but he does not neglect his family, and he appoints his "dear wife" one of his executors and one of the guardians of his children. To this side of his character we have also the testimony of the Rev. Thomas Mosse, who was afterwards chaplain to the Hospital. In a letter to Dean Bayly, relative to the affairs of the Hospital, this gentleman says, "I was adopted by the founder of it, put to school by him and that a beginning was given to my future establishment in the world, within the same month in which the foundation stone of the house was laid. For, that excellent man's friendship and generosity in private life were not inferior, even to the zeal and activity, with which he continued and prosecuted to completion, in spite of opposition, misrepresentation and calumny that goodly monument of his genius and benevolence." This may perhaps be interested testimony, but it need not on that account be false, and we feel justified in assuming that Mosse was a good father, and a generous friend to those who were in sympathy with him. Of his intellectual attainments we can only judge by the work which he accomplished in his lifetime and left as a monument to his memory. He seems essentially to have been a man of affairs, and his life was too full of practical work to permit of his devoting time to writing. He added nothing to the literature of his profession, and the statistical tables of the

HERBACEOUS BORDER IN THE GARDENS.

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work done in the Hospital are the only writings of his which we possess with any medical bearing, but many who have written more have done less to advance the science which they professed.

In his will Mosse describes himself "doctor in Physic," and he is so styled in several legal documents concerning the Hospital, but we have found no evidence that he ever took a university degree. His name does not appear in the rolls of Dublin, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews, or Leyden, and it is probable that the title was given to him by the lawyers who drafted the documents, for when writing of himself he describes himself as "surgeon and Licentiate in Midwifery."

The work which he accomplished, however, shows him to have been an able business man, a daring and successful speculator, and one who in the domain of commerce might have amassed for himself a considerable fortune. His management of the New Garden, and the way in which he procured the best artists of the day as an attraction for its concerts, seem to show that he was no mean judge of music, while his letters to Cipriani about the Chapel ceiling prove that he had considerable knowledge of the art of painting. The whole design of the Hospital, every detail of which he supervised, shows that he aimed not alone at use but also at beauty, and the building stands to-day not only a monument to his philanthropy but to his artistic taste. Had Mosse lived longer it is probable that the Hospital would have been more elaborately decorated than it was. Not only was the painting of the ceiling of the Chapel abandoned, but the decoration of the garden with statues by John van Nost was also given up. Mosse had agreed with van Nost that he should supply six statues, which were to be erected on pedestals in the garden. Some of the statues were actually finished and erected in their places, but after the death of Mosse the Governors did not feel justified in spending the money of the charity in this way, and as only part payment had been made to van Nost, he was permitted to remove the statues. The pedestals, which were to be surmounted by statues of "Antinous, Venus de Medici, Mercury, Apollo, a Fanus and a sitting Venus," remain in the Master's garden to this day in their unfinished state.

The house also was to be decorated by busts of Lord Shannon, the Bishop of Clogher, Lord Sudley, and the Earl of Kildare, while "it was also agreed that John van Nost should execute two large statues in lead and to be bronz'd in gold, the one was to be King George ye 2d ye other ye Prince of Wales to be fix'd on each pavilion in the front as van Nost has proportioned ye Plints now set on ye Pavilion for that purpose." The Bishop of Clogher, Lord

Shannon and Sir Arthur Gore all "sat for their likeness to Mr. van Nost," but the Earl of Kildare refused to do so. The busts of the Bishop and Sir Arthur were finished, and are now in the hall of the Hospital; for these thirty-five guineas each were paid; that of Lord Shannon, however, was, van Nost tells us, only "Boasted out." [1] None of the other statues seem ever to have become the property of the Hospital.

The device for the seal of the Hospital was left to the design of Mosse by order of the Governors at their first meeting, and this was subsequently cut in silver by "George Clarke," who on August 19th, 1758, was paid for his work a sum of £5 13*s.* 9*d.*

In his will Mosse speaks of "the Mahogany furniture of my own manufacture," and among this "one mahogany Bed of the Ionick Order," which he left to his daughter Jane. This interesting memento of the doctor's handiwork is preserved in the Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, where it is deposited on loan by its present owner, Lady Stokes, to whose kindness we are indebted for permission to publish the illustration of it. Though the carpentry work of this bed was probably done by Mosse, the carving work was done by one John Kelly, of Dublin, who was paid by the executors of Mosse the sum of £19 8*s.* 6½*d.* for his work. The receipted bill, giving the particulars of the charge for this work, is preserved among the Hospital papers.[2]

Such details, trivial perhaps in themselves, help us to form an idea of the man. One who always desired and planned that the useful should also be beautiful, not only in the great, but in the small things of life, and one who at the same time had such a true conception both of the useful and beautiful, must, we feel, have been endowed with no mean intellectual ability, nor can he have let this natural endowment wither from want of cultivation. His energy and activity we interpret as an expression of a keen and brilliant intellect, an intellect that would have made him a leader in any department of life, and we rejoice that fortune made him a Dublin physician.

It has been said that Dr. Jebb (1774–1780), was the first Master who resided in the Hospital,[3] but this is not correct, for, as we have seen, at the meeting of the Board it was recorded that Dr. Mosse was "ill in the house." Mosse seems never to have lived in the house in Cavendish Street which he mentions in his will as set to Charles Gordon. This, which was the corner house, and the two adjoining ones, were built in pursuance of an agreement

[1] Portfolio No. 48.
[2] Portfolio No. 134.
[3] 'Madden,' p. 10.

BARTHOLOMEW MOSSE'S BED.

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made between Mosse, John Ensor and Henry Darley in 1755.[1] Ensor "undertook the management and conduct of the work in consideration of £100 to be paid or allowed to him" by Mosse and Darley, but the accounts between the parties were not finally settled till after the death of Mosse. We have further confirmation, however, that Mosse lived in the Hospital from the fact that his widow continued to reside there for some time after his death, and at the Committee meeting on June 10th, 1760, it was "ordered that a message be delivered to Mrs. Mosse to desire that she will quit this house by Michaelmas next," and on May 14th, 1761, it was "ordered that the executors of Doctor Mosse be at liberty to have an auction in the Hospital." Mrs. Mosse did not long survive her husband, for she died March 21st, 1764, in Great Britain Street. Her daughter Jane married in November, 1774, at St. Ann's Church, Lt.-Col. Henry Monck Mason, and was the mother of William Monck Mason, the distinguished historian of St. Patrick's Cathedral.[2]

The portrait of Mosse which hangs in the Board Room of the Hospital was presented to the Governors in December, 1833, by William Monck Mason, who stated that he reserved to himself the right of making an engraving of it to be published in a life of Mosse which he had written as part of his history of Dublin. This history was never published, and we have not been able to trace any record of the manuscript. The names of the artist who painted the portrait and of the sculptor who executed the marble bust in the hall of the Hospital are both unfortunately lost.

It is curious to note how little public notice was taken of the death of Mosse, who had done so much for the city and its poor. The minutes of the Board do not contain a resolution of condolence with his widow or any acknowledgment of his great work. The newspapers merely published short obituary notices, and for nearly one hundred years his name was allowed to sink into oblivion till rescued by the memoir of him published in the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine' in 1846 by Sir William Wilde. His great work, however, has lived on, and posterity has done that honour to his memory which he so nobly earned, and which was so tardily paid to him by his contemporaries. Now at all events that prophesy, published in 'Sleater's Public Gazetteer' on February 20th, 1759, has come true. Speaking of the death of Mosse, and of the Hospital which he had founded, the writer said his "memory perhaps will be revived by succeeding ages when it shall be known from what a small beginning he carried into perfection that stately building."

[1] Portfolio No. 101.

[2] 'Irish Builder,' i, xii, 1893.

CHAPTER VI

SIR FIELDING OULD

Mosse having died on Friday, February 16th, 1759, a general board of the Hospital was summoned to meet on the following Monday morning. The Earl of Kildare took the chair, and the Governors proceeded to consider how the Hospital was to be carried on till a new Master was appointed. They wisely decided that the officers appointed by the late Master should remain in office, and also that the various workmen engaged in the building should continue their work. Mr. William Collum was requested "to attend in the Hospital as he has under the late Master," and so a continuity was given to the medical practice of the institution. Dr. Nesbitt, who had been appointed visiting physician at the previous meeting, was elected a member of the Board, added to the Committee of the house, and "desired to attend and visit the hospital as often as he conveniently can." Mr. James Sempill was admitted "to attend in the said Hospital as surgeon till further order," but as no duties were assigned to him we are left in doubt whether he was to act as an assistant, or, which is more probable, as a consulting surgeon in a position corresponding to that of Dr. Nesbitt as physician. The Committee were directed to proceed to the following inquiries, viz.:

"1. What the clear profit arising from the gardens yearly, deducting the expenses, has been, at a medium?

"2. What the present endowment from private benefactors, either for beds or otherwise, amounts to?

"3. What number of beds this house will contain if completed?

"4. And also to compute from the present expense of the present number of beds, what will be necessary to the expense of the whole number that the house will contain?"

Now that the guiding hand and head of Mosse were gone these inquiries were of the utmost importance to the Governors for the future management of the Hospital. Three meetings of the Committee were devoted to the consideration of these matters, and the result was reported to the Board on March 9th,

1759. The profit from the Gardens was found to have increased from £160 in 1756 to £473 in 1758, "which at a medium is about £304 10*s.* per annum." The yearly income from the private benefactors was found to be about £332 10*s.*, making a total income for the Hospital of £637 a year. The Committee found that there were forty-four beds for patients in the Hospital, and if the building were completed they considered that it might contain "72 beds for such patients and no more." The annual cost per bed was found to be £12 10*s.*, so that, if the seventy-two beds were occupied, an income of £900 a year would be required to support the Hospital. The salaries and wages of the officers of the Hospital, including £70 a year for rent, amounted to £243 2*s.* 6*d.* a year. Of this the housekeeper got £30 a year as salary and 5*s.* 10*d.* a week "for subsistence," the Chaplain got £50 a year, and the four nursekeepers £5 a year each. Neither the Master nor the assistants received any salary.

The Governors contented themselves with directing that this report should be entered on the minutes,[1] and left it for the consideration of the next general Board. They further ordered that the sum of £1 2*s.* 9*d.* per week be paid to Mr. William Collum "for subsistence till further order, he having been directed by the physician to reside constantly in the hospital." Mr. William Whittingham, one of the executors of Mosse, and a Governor of the Hospital, reported "that he had received a proposal from a gentleman of eminence in the Profession of attending said hospital out of regard to the memory and family of the late Master." The Governors, however, decided to make no election till the first Friday in November, "being the day appointed for that purpose in the Charter," but that on March 19th next they would receive proposals from any Licentiate in Midwifery who was willing to undertake the superintendence of the Hospital in the meantime. On that day proposals were received from Dr. Carter and Dr. Ould, and the Governors decided that each of these gentlemen should be "appointed to attend the Service of this hospital monthly till a master be elected pursuant to the Charter and that Dr. Carter be desired to take the first turn." Subsequent to this meeting Mr. Collum again applied to the Governors for some remuneration for his services to the Hospital, and on June 14th, 1759, a sum of £40 was voted to him "for past services." At the quarterly meeting on November 2nd, 1759, a memorial of Dr. Ould having been read, "he was unanimously elected Master for the ensuing year."

Mosse had planned a scheme in connection with the Hospital by which he proposed to raise "a fund sufficient to defray the expenses of nursing,

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 39.

cloathing and general maintenance of all those children who should be born in the Lying-in Hospital and whom their parents should consent to entrust to the Doctor's care."[1] His idea was that there should be a school established "with able protestant masters in the most useful trades and manufactures," to which the children might be sent when old enough and where they might "be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, in honesty and industry, and to be taught some trade as their genius most strongly inclined them to." The Governors, in abandoning this scheme, were no doubt influenced by the report of their Committee on the financial state of the Hospital, for such a project seems to have appealed strongly to people at the time. Had the Governors embarked on such a school there is little reason to think that they would have been more successful than were the Governors of the Foundling Hospital. That institution was started in Dublin in 1729, with the intention of carrying out such a design, and many of the Governors of the Lying-in Hospital were also on the Board of the Foundling Hospital. For just one hundred years this institution continued its existence as a Foundling Hospital and then was closed by order of Parliament in consequence of a report on its condition, in which it was stated that, in the thirty years ending January, 1826, out of 52,152 children admitted during that time, 41,524 had died.[2] The building used as the Foundling Hospital subsequently became the South Dublin Union Workhouse in James Street.

At the quarterly meeting on November 2nd, 1759, the Governors decided to petition Parliament again for assistance, and "ordered that the care of the family of the late master be mentioned in such Petition." In this petition the Governors, having recited the previous decisions of the House of Commons on their claim, went on to point out "that Doctor Mosse being the Contriver and Undertaker of that useful Charity, the Corporation left him at Liberty as the properest Person to continue in the direction of the Buildings. That Doctor Mosse with a view to enlarge the Revenues of the Charity, and establish a Fund for the better Support thereof, made several considerable and expensive Improvements upon and Additions to the original Plan, by means whereof the Corporation, and also the Family of the late Doctor Mosse, as his Representatives alledge, are involved in heavy Debts. That a Balance of upwards of £2000 is claimed as due to the Representatives of Doctor Mosse, who also alledge that they are liable to a like Sum for Materials supplied and other Debts properly of the Corporation, yet to which the said

[1] 'Lawson Sermon,' p. 27.

[2] 'Wodsworth,' p. 52.

Representatives alledge they, and not the Corporation, are subject. That it will require a considerable Sum to pay the Debts due on Account of the said Hospital, and to finish the same, furnish the House, and put the Gardens in proper Order. That on or about the 16th of *February*, 1759, the said Doctor Mosse died, leaving a Widow and two Children of tender Years; on whose behalf it is alledged that they are great Sufferers by the many Advantages taken of the Multiplicity of his Dealings and Confusion of his Accounts, the Truth of which the Petitioners have good Reason to believe. And praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration and to enable the Petitioners to discharge the Debts owing on Account of the said Hospital, and to finish the Building, furnish the House and put the Gardens in Order; and the Petitioners beg leave to recommend to the Consideration of this honourable House the Circumstances of the Family of the said Doctor Mosse." On the same day a petition was presented on behalf of Mrs. Mosse praying the House to grant her relief and assistance on account of the work done by her late husband. Both the petitions were referred to a Committee for consideration, and on November 14th, 1759, Lord Boyle according to order reported from the Committee as follows:

"Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the Petitioners have fully proved the Allegations of their Petition. 2. Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that the late Doctor *Mosse* and his Executors have, since the last Session of Parliament, expended on the building of the Hospital in *Great Britain-street* the sum of £4,162 1*s*. 4¼*d*. 3. Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Relief of poor Lying-in Women in *Dublin* have since the last Session of Parliament expended on the building of the Lying-in Hospital in *Great Britain-street* the sum of £675 14*s*. 3*d*. 4. Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that there is claimed to be due to Tradesmen and others, on account of the building of the Hospital, and other Matters relative thereto, the sum of £3,000 and upwards. 5. Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that it will require a considerable sum to pay the Debts due on account of the said Hospital, and to finish the Building, furnish the House, and put the Garden belonging to the Hospital in proper Order. 6. Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the Petitioners deserve public Assistance and Encouragement to pay the Debts due on account of the said Hospital, and to finish the Building, furnish the House, and put their Garden in proper Order. 7. Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Petitioner, *Jane Mosse* hath fully proved the

Allegations of her Petition. 8. Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that the late Doctor *Mosse*, from the last Session of Parliament to his Death, superintended the Building and Care of the said Hospital without any Fee or Reward. 9. Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the said Doctor *Mosse* by giving up his Time to the Care of the said Hospital, and his close Attendance thereon, not only hurt his Family in their Circumstances, but impaired his Constitution and shortened his Life. 10. Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the Petitioner, *Jane Mosse*, from the Merit of her late Husband with regard to the Public, and her own Willingness to confirm his Will, and from the Consideration of the Circumstances she and her Family are left in, deserve Relief and Assistance from the Public." This report was referred to the Committee of the whole House "appointed to take into consideration the supply granted to His Majesty," and on November 17th the Chancellor of the Exchequer reported the decision of this Committee to the House of Commons as follows: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that a Sum of £3,000 be given to the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the relief of poor Lying-in Women in *Dublin*, towards paying the Debts due on account of the said Hospital, and to finish the Building, furnish the House, and put their Garden in proper Order; to be accounted for to Parliament. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that a Sum of £1,000 be given to *Jane Mosse*, Widow of the late Doctor *Bartholomew Mosse* for the use of herself and her children, in consideration of the Merit of her late Husband with regard to the Public, by giving up his Time to the Care of the said Hospital, and superintending the Building to the Time of his Death, by which he hurt his Family in their Circumstances." These "Resolutions being read were agreed to by the House." Thus for the third time the House of Commons had come to the assistance of the charity, and had again recognised the value of the work that Mosse had done for the city.

The appointment of Ould as master at the quarterly meeting on November 2nd, 1759, put an end to Carter's connection with the Hospital. Carter had obtained his licence in midwifery from the College of Physicians on May 28th, 1738, on examination, "being found exceedingly well qualified." He lived in Suffolk Street till 1750, when he moved to College Green, but we have found no evidence as to his practice, or to show that he in any way assisted Mosse in the work of the old Hospital. As far as we know he has left no writing by which we can form an estimate of his professional attainments. His practice, however, was probably good, for on November 13th, 1770, during the reign of the Marquis of Townshend as Viceroy, it is recorded

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in the minutes of the Board of Trinity College that, "the Board have agreed to grant the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Physic to Mr. Matthew Carter at the request of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant." In 1776 he moved to 47, Dawson Street, and seems in his later years to have fallen on bad times, for on April 17th, 1780, the College of Physicians "ordered that the Treasurer do pay to Sir Nathaniel Barry the sum of fifty pounds for the use of Dr. Matthew Carter." Carter died about the year 1782.

Fielding Ould was a much more remarkable man than his contemporary Carter, and his name figures largely in the history of Irish medicine during the eighteenth century. The Ould family had been settled in Sherborne from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and there about 1667 was born Robert Ould, who afterwards became a colonel in the 5th Regiment of Foot, and saw service with William of Orange in Holland and at the Boyne. About 1689 there was born to him a son Abraham, who, like his father, joined the Army and was gazetted captain on November 29th, 1710, in a regiment raised two years previously for Christopher Fleming, late Lord Slane.[1] When stationed in Galway Captain Ould married Lettice Shawe, daughter of the Rev. Fielding Shawe, D.D., Canon of Tagh Saxon, in the Diocese of Tuam. The exact date of this marriage has not been ascertained, but it is known that the captain was assassinated in the streets of London about 1715.[2] There were two sons the result of this marriage, Fielding and Abraham, and on their father's death Mrs. Ould returned with them to her father's house in Galway. The Rev. Fielding Shawe was a distinguished graduate of Trinity College, having been elected a scholar in 1679, taken his B.A. in 1681, and graduated B.D. and D.D. in 1701. It is probable that both Fielding and Abraham Ould were educated in Galway, and lived there till the death of their grandfather in 1729. It is very probable that about this time both boys were sent to Dublin with a view to starting them in some business or profession by which they might make their living. Abraham seems to have been apprenticed to an apothecary, which calling he afterwards followed with some success on "Ormond Kay." Fielding, on the other hand, started work in the anatomy school of Trinity College, apparently in the capacity of pro-sector.

The Lecturer in Anatomy in 1730 was Thomas Madden, who had been a college contemporary with Ould's uncle. It is possible that this may account for the fact that Fielding Ould was permitted to work in the College School though he was not a matriculated student. Madden "died of a Fever" on

[1] 'Dalton,' vol. v, p. 259; vol. vi, p. 250.

[2] 'McClintock,' p. 8.

May 15th, 1734, and it may have been due to this fact that Ould did not further pursue a college course, but left Ireland for the study of midwifery in Paris. In his 'Midwifery'[1] he tells us that he "spent that Time which others employ in their Improvement in polite Literature, in a more laborious Manner; namely, in the Dissection of human Bodies, and a constant Application to Practice." In a memorial addressed to the Board of Trinity College and dated February 15th, 1763, he says that for five years he was "Almost intirely employed in dissecting for ye Any. Lecture of ye College, during wh. time he constly. attended ye N. Phily. Chymy. & Botany Lectures and was two years abroad for his further improvement." Natural philosophy, chemistry and botany were at that time taught in Trinity College by Richard Helsham, William Smith, and Henry Nicholson respectively, and with the instruction in anatomy constituted almost the whole of the medical teaching of the College.

While in Paris, Ould seems to have worked hard, and in his 'Midwifery' he states, "I made the strictest Examination of every Woman, which I either delivered, or saw delivered, during my Continuance in Paris." Paris was at that time the greatest centre for the teaching of midwifery in Europe, and students flocked to its schools from all parts. As Ould says, "the Opportunities that are there met with, are no where else to be found, without which, it is hardly possible to be an Adept; namely, those of occular Demonstration of Women being delivered, both in natural and preternatural Labours; where, as well the external Parts of the Patient, as every Action of the Operator, are the whole Time in View."[2]

Shortly after his return from France, on April 22nd, 1738, Ould married Grace, daughter of Captain Walker, in St. Bridget's Church. He seems to have settled in Golden Lane, though his name does not appear in the Dublin Almanacks as living there till 1742. He was, however, in practice as a midwife in Dublin from the beginning of this year, and in his 'Midwifery' he reports cases that he had attended in Dublin from March, 1738. On August 16th, 1738, he presented himself before the College of Physicians for examination, and "being found singularly well qualified was licensed accordingly." While in Paris he had made several observations which seemed to him to conflict with the usual teaching of the professors of midwifery, and after further examination of these he embodied his views in a book which, on November 2nd, 1741, he submitted to the President and Fellows of

[1] 'Ould,' p. 4.
[2] 'Ould,' p. 71.

the College of Physicians for their consideration. The book was referred by the College to the President and Censors, and their opinion is printed before the title-page of the book, which was published in Dublin in 1742. This opinion, signed by the President and four Censors, runs as follows: "Librum cui Titulus (A Treatise of Midwifery) dignum censemus qui imprimatur. *Datum ex Ædibus Collegii nostri* Die 5° Decembris, 1741."

On May 2nd, 1743, his eldest son, William, afterwards Chaplain to the Hospital, was baptised in St. Bridget's Church,[1] and on February 21st, 1748, a daughter, "Miss Lettĭcia," was buried "in Alderman Walker's Ground in the old Churchyard" of St. Patrick's. In 1750 he moved to Frederick Street, in the Molesworth Fields, where he had acquired some property "by virtue of a fee farm lease made by the late Lord Molesworth." In this house, which was afterwards 21, South Frederick Street, at the north-east corner of Frederick Street and Nassau Street, he lived till the time of his death.

It would seem that Ould did not confine himself strictly to the practice of his speciality, but like many others, both before and since, he found occasion, though professing a speciality, to undertake the treatment of patients whose cases more properly belonged to other departments of medicine. This practice of the midwives had excited the jealousy of the Fellows of the College of Physicians, and on May 6th, 1745, they adopted the following resolution: "Whereas it has been found that several persons licensed to practise Midwifery only have notwithstanding presumed to practise Physick in general; we ye subscribing members of ye College of Physicians have unanimously agreed that we will not for the future consult with any of them as Physicians, nor wth. any other person who is not a graduate or licensed Physician of this College." The Charter granted to the College of Physicians by William and Mary had ordained that no one was to practise Physic in Dublin, or within seven miles thereof, unless he was licensed by the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, provided that graduates of the University, who had passed their full acts, were admitted to the License of the College without further examination on the payment of the usual fee. In 1701 the Board of Trinity College and the College of Physicians had come to an agreement whereby the Fellows of the latter body were constituted the examiners for the medical degrees in the University, and only those who had graduated in Medicine in the University were admitted to the license in Physic and Fellowship of the College of Physicians. There was at the time no definite curriculum laid down for medical students in Trinity College, but all who sought

[1] 'St. Bridget's Register.'

the medical degrees of the University were supposed to have already a degree in Arts. As the only medical school in Ireland was that in Trinity College, the plan had on the whole worked well and advantageously to the profession of medicine and the honour of both the Colleges.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, however, academic affairs in Trinity College were largely neglected for political considerations, and there seems to have been much laxity in the observance of the regulations of the College. Richard Baldwin, who had entered College in April, 1684, and had for twenty years been a Senior Fellow, and then for forty-one years Provost, died on September 30th, 1758.[1] During this long period he had on the whole successfully governed the College, but there was continual friction between him and some of the other Fellows from whom he differed in politics. On the death of Baldwin, Francis Andrews succeeded to the Provostship. He was more of a courtier and politician than a College don, and he does not seem to have hesitated to relax collegiate regulations to oblige political friends. Ould seems to have had considerable influence with Andrews, whom no doubt he met in some of the festive gatherings for which Andrews was notorious. The position which Ould occupied as a mere Licentiate in Midwifery, though lucrative, was not very dignified, and he doubtless felt that if he could obtain a medical degree not only would this position be improved but his professional prospects would be made much better. In order to effect this purpose he applied to the Board of Trinity College asking that a degree in arts might be granted to him, "preparatory to his applying for leave to perform his degrees in Physic." In answer to this application on February 15th, 1753, "a Batchelor's degree in Arts was granted Speciali Gratia" to him by the Board.[2]

The President and Fellows of the College of Physicians felt very strongly that in granting special graces for medical degrees the Board of Trinity College were breaking through the spirit if not the letter of the agreement made between the Colleges in 1701. Accordingly on February 19th, 1753, they resolved "yt no graduate in Physic of ye University of Dublin who hath obtained or shall obtain, his degree by special grace of favour shall for the future be admitted into ye College of Physicians or licensed by ye College to practise Physic." That they were not actuated merely by the wish to preserve the academic status of their Fellows is evident by the further resolution which was adopted on the same day. "Ordered yt ye College of Physicians shall

[1] 'Stubbs,' p. 168.

[2] 'Kirkpatrick,' p. 118.

THE CHAPEL — EAST WALL.

ee page 56.

not for the future examine any person who hath or does practise Midwifery for any degree in Physick or a licence in Physick." While the former resolution indicates a perfectly correct attitude, the latter seems to point to some special animus on the part of the College against Ould, for more than one of those on the roll of the College were noted for their obstetric ability. It must be remembered, however, that Dr. Nesbitt, the Consulting Physician of the Lying-in Hospital, and one of the Governors who were present at the meeting at which Ould was unanimously elected Master, was also a Fellow of the College of Physicians and voted for these resolutions. Nevertheless it seems impossible to justify the decision not to examine candidates for a licence in medicine, who were otherwise qualified, merely because they did or had practised midwifery.

Ould appears to have tried privately to overcome the decision of the College of Physicians and obtain a promise from the President that if he presented a *liceat* from the Board that the College would admit him to examination. In this he failed, and it would seem that Provost Baldwin would not countenance the granting of a *liceat* under the circumstances. Ould then appears to have lost his temper, and he wrote an abusive letter to the President of the College of Physicians. This letter, which has not been preserved, was brought before the College on November 15th, 1756, and is described in the minutes as "a Remonstrance highly and unjustly reflecting on the College of Physicians." In reply, the President and Fellows directed the Registrar to send Ould a copy of the By-law relating to the admission of midwives to examinations for licence in physic "as the only answer which they can consistent with the dignity of this body give to a memorial of so extraordinary a nature."

In this condition matters rested till after the death of Provost Baldwin, but shortly after Andrews was admitted Provost the Board, on June 2nd, 1759, granted a *liceat* to Ould for his degree of Bachelor in Medicine. Ould, backed by the Provost, was prepared to try to force the College of Physicians to accept the *liceat*, but in this he failed, and the College of Physicians refused to examine him on the *liceat*. On February 2nd, 1760, the Board granted him "leave to perform the usual acts for a Bachelor's degree in Physic," and directed him to "acquaint the Professor of Physic therewith & that he give the usual notice of the time and subject of his Acts." On June 29th, 1761, a grace was passed granting him the M.D. degree of the University.

When the College of Physicians learned what the Board of Trinity College

had done, the President and Fellows wrote to the Board, stating we "find ourselves under the necessity of breaking off that connexion which has hitherto subsisted between your Board and ours by agreement of January ye 25th 1701 and for the future we will not examine your candidates nor officiate at the performance of their public acts." On the receipt of this communication the Board called on the Professors of the Medical School to conduct the examination, and on the refusal of Robert Robinson, Professor of Anatomy, and the only Fellow of the College of Physicians who at the time held a Trinity College professorship, to obey this order, he was dismissed from his office. Thus ended the long and intimate connection which had existed between the two colleges, and it was not till many years afterwards that relations between the two bodies again became cordial. The rupture had a profound influence on the future course of medical education, and Ould's connection with it has given his name a considerable prominence in Irish medical history.

Just as Ould was in the midst of his dispute with the College of Physicians about his degree in medicine he received the honour of knighthood from the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford. The exact reason for the granting of this honour has not been recorded. In the Court Circular of the day it is stated that on May 17th, 1760, the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College waited on his Excellency to wish him a safe journey to England, to which country he was about to return, and immediately after this, we are told that "his Grace the Lord Lieutenant hath been pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on Dr. Fielding Ould." The Duke was at this time President of the Board of Governors of the Hospital, and it may be that he wished to confer some honour on its chief executive officer, but it is more likely that we see here, as in the matter of his degree, the influence of Provost Andrews and his intimate friend the Hon. Richard Rigby, the Irish Secretary. The honour gave rise to many epigrams at the time, of which perhaps the best is:

"Sir Fielding Ould is made a Knight,
He should have been a Lord by right,
And then each lady's prayer would be—
'Oh Lord, good Lord, deliver me.'"

Ould had now reached almost the zenith of his fame. He was the Master and a Governor of a great Hospital, a graduate in medicine of the University of Dublin, and one of the few medical men who at the time had obtained

the honour of knighthood in Ireland. He was also in extensive practice as the leading obstetrician in the city. There seems to be no doubt that he attended the Countess of Mornington in April, 1769, at the time of the birth of her son Arthur, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and his other patients were both numerous and fashionable. Quite apart, however, from the accidental circumstances which have made the name of Fielding Ould memorable, he merits a high place in the roll of Dublin medical men. We must look on him and Bartholomew Mosse as the joint founders of the great school of midwifery in Dublin. Mosse founded the Hospital which made that school possible, and Ould by his work set a high standard to his successors in the field of obstetrical research—a standard which has been well maintained by many writings in the succeeding century.

Ould lived to a ripe old age, dying on November 29th, 1789. He attended the meetings of the Board and Committee of the Hospital regularly till August 3rd, 1787, and to the end of his life took an active interest in its welfare. Near the end of his life, on October 3rd, 1785, the College of Physicians made some reparation to him for their former slight by admitting him as a Licentiate of Medicine, but he was never elected a Fellow of the College.

His eldest son, William, was Chaplain to the Hospital from February 10th, 1776, to February 2nd, 1816. His second son, Fielding, was elected High Sheriff of the City of Dublin on April 28th, 1775, and died in office on March 25th in the following year. His third son, Abraham, died in childhood, as did two of his six daughters.

Ould's book on midwifery, like many another work, is more talked of than read at the present day, and on that account a kind of halo seems to have surrounded the head of the author in the minds of modern writers. This was not so, however, at the time at which it was published, for a contemporary practitioner in Dublin published, in the form of two pamphlets, a very damaging criticism of it. Thomas Southwell tells us that he adopted the plan of publishing his criticism of the book in two separate parts to enable Ould to reply to it if he saw fit.[1] We have no record of any reply from Ould, and as no second edition of his work was issued we must conclude that no very effective reply was possible.

My friend Dr. E. Hastings Tweedy, Ex-Master of the Hospital, has, at my request, studied both the work and Southwell's two pamphlets, and I am much indebted to him for his criticism of them. The most striking thing in Ould's

[1] Southwell.

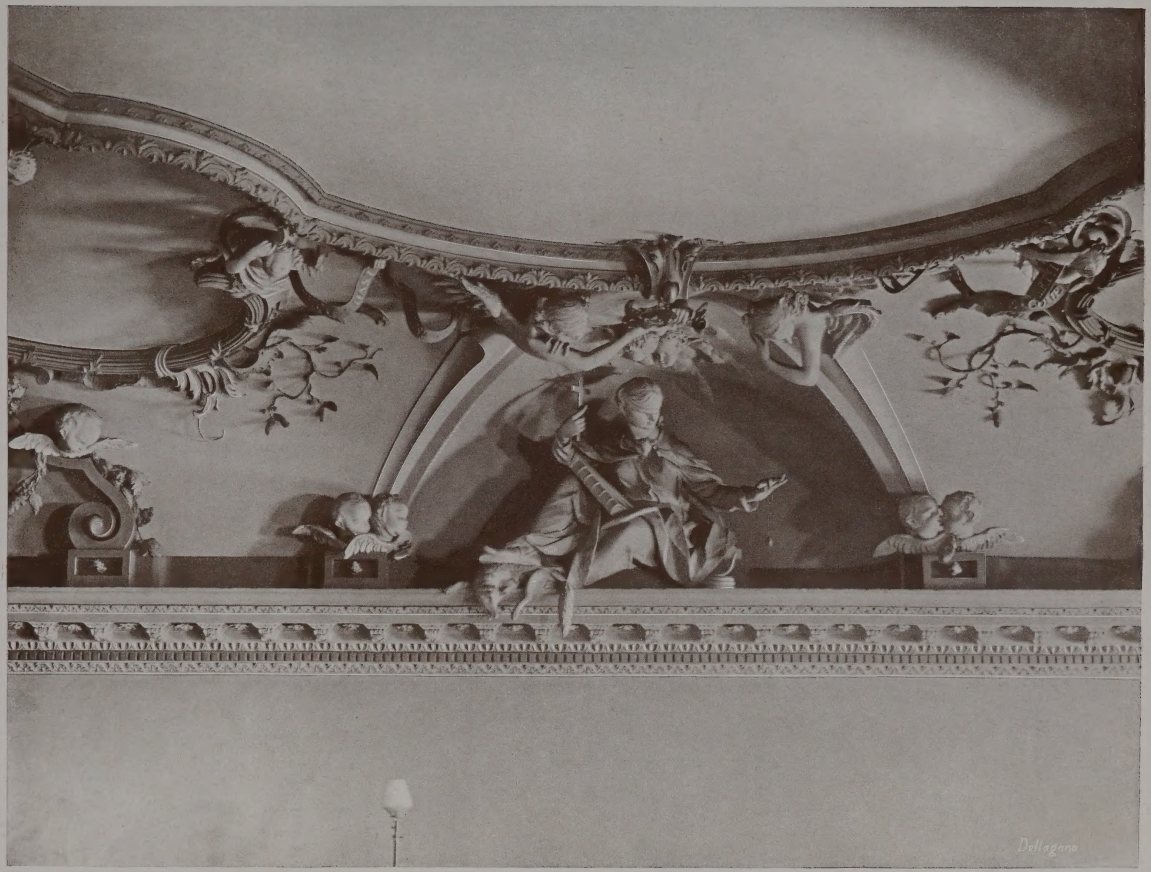
work is what it omits rather than what it contains. Very many of those difficulties which must confront everyone with any considerable practice in obstetrics are not mentioned at all. As Dr. Tweedy says, it is evidently the work of a very young man who has had little opportunity of acquiring either practical or theoretical knowledge, one anxious to impress, more eager to teach than to be taught, and above all to attract to himself that practice which it was his great ambition to attain. Southwell freely accuses him of plagiarism and ignorance of the views of contemporary writers, but there is no doubt that while Ould was ready to assimilate what he believed to be right in the work of others, yet his own work is stamped with the characters of independent thought and original observation. He was the first to describe an important movement in the mechanism of labour, and he advocated turning of the child and extraction by the feet in case of slight contraction of the pelvis. Much has been said of Ould's description of the management of the third stage of labour, and of his priority in the description of what is now known as the "Rotunda Method."[1] No clear description, however, of this method is given in his work. He very properly objected to the manual removal of the placenta, or its extraction by pulling on the funis, but he nowhere advocates those manipulations which really constitute the essentials of the Rotunda method. In a short pamphlet by John Harvie, M.D.,[2] published in London in 1767, this method is very fully described, and it is possible that Ould may have practised it during his period of office as Master of the Hospital, but the first clear description of the method in a Dublin work is that given by Clarke, who was elected Master in 1786.[3]

Ould was a strong supporter of what long remained the watchword of the Dublin practice, that "meddlesome midwifery is bad," and to this must be attributed the great success of the Hospital during a long series of years. Ould lived for forty-seven years after his work was published, and it is difficult to think that, were he the brilliant investigator some would have us believe, he could have lived so long without producing any other work. While, then, we give him all credit for the work he did, we do not feel inclined to over-rate his merit.

[1] Jellett.

[2] 'Harvie,' p. 45.

[3] 'Clarke Report.'



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CHAPTER VII

COMPLETING THE HOSPITAL AND BUILDING THE "ROTUNDA"

We have seen in the previous chapter that when the Governors of the Hospital and the executors of Mosse began to estimate their liabilities they found that very considerable sums of money were owing to different people. These debts were practically liquidated by the money granted by Parliament in the year 1759, but the sums thus granted were not sufficient either to place the Governors in a solvent condition, or to provide a competence for Mrs. Mosse. Under these circumstances both parties decided to make a further appeal to Parliament. The Governors pointed out in their petition[1] that the grant "of £3,000 falls very short to answer the before mentioned purposes and discharge some expenses necessarily incurred since." Mrs. Mosse stated[2] that "the whole estate and effects of Dr. Mosse will very little, if at all, exceed the sum of £1,000, the petitioner's fortune, and the sum of £2,000 granted to him by Parliament"; and against this there were claims amounting to £2,400 which she was "utterly unable to pay or satisfy." She estimated the value of the "Hospital and gardens with the furniture thereto belonging" at £35,000, and prayed, in view of "the usefulness of the charity and the care and merit of Doctor Mosse in founding and conducting the same," that the House would grant her and her family further relief.

A difficulty had arisen owing to the fact that the Governors were advised that they could not accept responsibility for or discharge any debts incurred by Mosse before the granting of the Charter. Such a contention, though no doubt legally correct, was manifestly most unfair to Mrs. Mosse, in that the debts were incurred solely for the benefit of the Hospital.

This, at all events, was the view taken by the House of Commons on November 7th, 1761, when both petitions were presented to the House and referred to a Committee for consideration and report. On November 12th,

[1] 'Parliamentary Petitions,' Bundle 8, No. 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 324.

Mr. Le Hunte reported from this Committee as follows[1]: (1). "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the petitioners, the Governors and Guardians, have fully proved the allegations of their petition. (2). That it is the opinion of this Committee that the money heretofore granted by Parliament hath been applied to the purposes for which it was granted. (3). Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that the said Hospital is a most useful Charity, and deserves the Support of the Public. (4). Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Governors and Guardians of the said Hospital are unable to pay the debts due on account of the said Hospital out of their present Fund. (5). Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee that the said Governors and Guardians deserve the aid of Parliament to enable them to pay the said debts. (6). Resolved that it appears to this Committee, that in the year 1754 the late Doctor *Mosse* borrowed from several persons the sum of £2,450, to enable him to carry on the Building of the said Hospital. (7). Resolved that it appears to this Committee that the said late Doctor *Mosse* did lay out and expend the sum of £2,450, in and upon the Building of the said Hospital. (8). Resolved that it appears to this Committee, that the said sum of £2,450 still remains due to the said persons. (9). Resolved that it appears to this Committee, that the said Sum was advanced and expended before the Governors of the said Hospital were incorporated. (10). Resolved, that it appears to this Committee, that the said Governors and Guardians refused to pay the said Debt inasmuch as it was a Debt contracted before their Incorporation. (11). Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that the said sum of £2,450 ought to be paid to the said Creditors. (12). Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the sum of £2,450 ought to be paid to the said Creditors out of such money as shall be granted by Parliament. (13). Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Right Honorable, Lord Viscount *Sudley*, *James Grattan* and *Thomas LeHunte*, Esquires, are proper Trustees to whom the said sum of £2,450 may be granted, to be by them applied to the payment of the said Creditors, upon their releasing the Representatives of the said Doctor *Mosse* from all Demands, and proving their respective Debts. (14). Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that the Petitioner *Jane Mosse*, the Widow, and the children of the said Doctor *Mosse*, are deserving and stand in need of the aid of Parliament." To these resolutions the House agreed, and on the following day a sum of £3000 was voted to the Governors, "to enable them to discharge the debts due on account of the said Hospital, and to finish and furnish the same;

[1] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xii, p. 100.

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to be accounted for to Parliament." A sum of £1000 was voted to Mrs. Mosse "in consideration of the merit of her late Husband in regard to the Public."[1]

This money was a welcome addition to the funds of the Hospital and enabled the Governors to discharge almost entirely the debts incurred in its building. The Chapel of the Hospital, however, remained unfinished, and was in much the same condition as it was at the time of the death of Mosse. He had designed that it should be not only of use to the staff of the Hospital, but also should be a source of income. Considerable sums of money had been spent on it in hopes that by its beauty it would attract a large and wealthy congregation. We have already seen that the elaborate ceiling decoration, planned by Cipriani and Mosse, had been abandoned on the death of the latter, but even without this the place presented a very attractive appearance. On May 14th, 1762, the Governors desired their Architect, Mr. Ensor, "to make an estimate of the expense of finishing the chapel, exclusive of the organ." This estimate has not been preserved, but it was evidently satisfactory, for three months later the Governors "resolved that the Chapel be forthwith prepared for divine Service."[2] As soon as "books, surplice and other necessaries" were provided, service was to be performed every Sunday "to begin before twelve o'clock at furthest," and the Rev. Robert King, LL.D., Archdeacon of Leighlin, who had "performed the offices of Christening and Churching in the hospital ever since the foundation of it," was appointed Chaplain. The pews were to be set at a yearly rent to the highest bidder, and half the sum derived from this source was to be paid to the Chaplain each year as his salary. The Master, Mr. Putland, Dr. Nesbitt, and the Archdeacon of Dublin, were appointed as Committee for the opening of the Chapel. We learn from a memorial presented to the Governors by the Chaplain that so far from the Chapel being any charge on the Hospital funds, he hoped that they would be considerably benefited by "the money arising from the weekly collections, and annual Charity Sermon and four Sacred Oratorios."[3]

On Sunday, December 19th, 1762, the first service was performed in the Chapel, which, though not quite finished, was "decently fitted up for the Celebration of Divine Service."[4] In February, 1763, the Chaplain informed the Governors that he did not intend to claim any of the salary due to him for his attendance "for all time past," which then amounted to £50. In

[1] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xii, p. 128.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 112.

[3] Portfolio No. 24.

[4] 'Dub. Mag.,' p. 223.

consequence of this, which was looked on as a gift of £50 to the Hospital, it was proposed that, as a benefactor, he be elected a member of the Board. There seems to have been some difference of opinion as to whether the Chaplain was entitled to this sum, or whether relinquishing his claim to it could be considered as a gift, for when his name came up for ballot he was objected to as being "no benefactor entitled to be chosen a Governor as such," and on ballot was rejected.

The returns from the Chapel were so satisfactory that on June 15th, 1763, Archdeacon Mann was requested "to provide proper plate for the Communion Service in the Chapel to be paid for out of the money arising by the Chapel." Shortly after this King resigned the chaplaincy, and at the quarterly meeting of the Board in November, 1763, the Rev. Thomas Mosse, nephew of the late Master, was appointed in his stead.

When the accounts of the Chapel came to be made up the Governors found the receipts "to exceed their most sanguine expectations." From December 19th, 1762, to December 25th, 1763, the weekly collections amounted to £117 10*s.* 9*d.*, and the pew rents to £80 15*s.* 3*d.* In the following year these had increased respectively to £160 1*s.* 10*d.* and £102 7*s.* 6*d.* According to agreement half the sum collected as pew rent was given to the chaplain as his salary, and the rest of the money was "applied to the uses of the Hospital." On November 2nd, 1764, Mosse was re-elected chaplain, and it was decided that he should "have the two rooms over the housekeeper's rooms, for his residence during the pleasure of the Governors provided that he remain unmarried according to the general rule." Afterwards Mosse not only devoted much time and energy to the discharge of his duties as chaplain, but undertook with considerable success the management of the entertainments in the Hospital Gardens.

The appointment of Ould as Master does not appear to have made any marked difference in the medical administration of the Hospital. There are now no records from which we can form any idea of the practice in the Hospital, but we know that William Collum, who had been assistant master under Mosse, continued in that capacity through almost the whole of Ould's mastership, at the termination of which he was himself appointed Master. His name only appears in the minutes of the Board as appointed assistant in the years 1760, 1761 and 1762, but during the subsequent years he is mentioned in the 'Dublin Almanacks,' as still holding this office. When, on November 7th, 1766, he was appointed to succeed Ould as Master, the Board made the following order: "That the order of March 8th, 1759, ordering one

guinea by the week to be paid to Mr. Collum be repealed." From this we may conclude that he had continued assistant master during this time, and he was, we believe, the only assistant master since the foundation of the Hospital who was paid by the Board.

On July 22nd, 1766, Ould proposed Mr. Henry Rock as an assistant Master, and he was "approved by the Committee." Rock from the first was a resident officer, for at the meeting at which he was appointed the Committee directed the Master to have "the room over the office" fitted up for an assistant. The Board, however, refused his request that he should be paid for his services. On May 2nd, 1760, Ould was elected a member of the Board of the Hospital in pursuance of the resolution proposed by Lord Kildare on February 1st of that year, "that a by law be made, that the Master of the Hospital for the time being, be appointed one of the Governors, to continue in such during his office and no longer." This very important rule, which gave the Master a voice on the Board of the Hospital, was repealed on November 7th, 1766, and at the next meeting Ould was again elected a Governor. Collum did not, in virtue of his appointment, become a member of the Board, but the inconvenience of this was soon felt, and on February 21st, 1767, the Committee resolved, "that the Master of the Hospital should be a Governor during his office." This resolution was adopted by the Governors on June 13th, and on June 20th Collum took his place at the Board. Ould was most regular in his attendance at the meetings, his advice was often asked on matters concerning the management of the Hospital, and he was frequently deputed to carry out the orders made by the Board and Committee.

We have found it impossible to fix either the exact sum which the building of the Hospital cost, or the exact date at which the building was finished. The accounts show that up to September 30th, 1755, Mosse had received a sum of £8163 7*s*. 8½*d*. of which he had spent £6569 9*s*. 3½*d*., on the new building, before the Charter was obtained. From that time to September 13th, 1760, a sum of £16,499 13*s*. 4¾*d*. was paid by the Governors in discharge of the Hospital accounts, making a total payment to that date of £23,069 2*s*. 7¼*d*. The total expenditure for maintenance, salaries and wages and rent during the three years 1758–1760 inclusive amounted to £2217 8*s*. 7*d*., which leaves a balance of a little over £20,000, which we may fairly put down to the expense of the building. The Hospital was, however, not quite finished, further expenditure being necessary, but the amount was not considerable. Benjamin Higgins, in his manuscript memoir of Mosse, as quoted by Sir William Wilde, drew up a balance-sheet, or "sketch," as he calls it, of the

indebtedness of the public to Mosse, in which "sketch" one item is "to building and furnishing the new hospital as it stood at his death by a gross calculation of skilful persons, £25,000."[1] This sum, however, must be considered a mere estimate, for at the time Mosse died very few of the bills for the building had been paid, and many had not even been presented. The best estimate that we have been able to make, founded on the existing accounts, leads us to believe that the Hospital was built and furnished for about £22,000.

The number of beds in the Hospital was only very gradually increased, for on October 11th, 1760, the Master reported that the beds in the wards "want repairs and some alterations, and that twelve pair of blankets, additional to the present number, which is fifty, are also necessary." The Governors directed that these requirements should be procured, but the funds did not justify any addition to the number of beds provided for patients.

The need of increased accommodation, however, soon became urgent, and on November 11th, 1763, the Governors again petitioned Parliament for help. This time they based their claim on the urgency of providing additional beds, on their desire to finish the front colonnade of the Hospital, and to erect a suitable room "for the accommodation of the company in the garden." At the same time one Patrick Boyd, of the City of Dublin, presented a petition in which he stated that in the year 1754 he had lent Mosse a sum of £705 "to enable the said Mosse the better to proceed in the said building." Boyd stated that the executors of Mosse "alledge they have expended all his assets in paying other debts on account of the said hospital," and he begged Parliament to grant him relief.[2] Mrs. Mosse petitioned about the same time for further assistance. These three petitions were referred to a Committee, which on March 14th reported favourably, and on March 22nd the House of Commons voted £1,000 to the Hospital and £500 to Mrs. Mosse, but made no mention of Boyd's claim. On November 6th, 1765, the Governors again petitioned Parliament for funds, stating that they had expended £1,800 on the new room, "and by computation it will require upwards of £2,000 to compleat the same." They again urged the necessity for additional beds, and stated that part of the front colonnade of the said Hospital "still remains unfinished, which would compleat the regularity of the building and be an additional ornament to the City."[3] This time they were granted £2,000, and again in 1767 they were granted £1,000.[4]

[1] Wilde, 'Mosse.'

[2] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xiii, p. 431.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xiv, p. 75.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. xv, p. 416.

THE MATERNITY HOSPITAL AND ASSEMBLY ROOMS FROM THE GARDENS.

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These grants enabled the Governors to add somewhat to the existing accommodation in the Hospital, and on November 2nd, 1764, "bed cloaths and sheeting for sixteen beds" were ordered. Again, on April 15th, 1766, an order was made that "the Carpenter be directed to prepare the woodwork for eleven beds." This increase in the number of beds was at once made use of, for we find that the number of patients admitted in the year ending December 31st, 1764, was greater by 91 than it had been in the previous year, and again in 1766 the number admitted was 611 compared with 559 in the former year. Besides these additions considerable sums of money were expended on the Hospital Gardens for the better accommodation of the company that frequented them. On February 4th, 1763, the Governors ordered a new orchestra to be built at a cost not exceeding £300, and on June 13th Mr. Vierpiel was paid £299 11*s.* 10*d.* for this work.

One of the attractions of the Gardens was the bowling-green, and in 1760 Sir Fielding Ould was asked to have it "properly levelled and repaired." An interesting memorial signed by many of the subscribers to the Gardens was presented on February 14th, 1767, asking that the green should receive the attention of the Governors "against the approaching season." The memorial, which with the original signatures is preserved among the Hospital papers, goes on to say, "this will much oblige us, and several others whom we approached will not subscribe unless they have the pleasure of such amusement, in a better manner than heretofore." [1]

By far the largest undertaking of the Governors at this time was the building of the new room in the Hospital Gardens. The need for such accommodation had, as we have seen, been put forward by the Governors in their petition to Parliament in the year 1763, and when the money asked for was granted they immediately set about carrying out the design. The buildings erected by Mosse, when the gardens were opened, appear to have been of a temporary character, and already the orchestra had to be renewed. The "Coffee House," which was the principal other building, was not sufficient for the concerts and other entertainments, while the uncertainty of the climate made open-air entertainments a doubtful source of profit. Accordingly on May 4th, 1764, the Governors decided that the £3,000 granted by Parliament "be laid out in building a large room in the waste ground of the hospital gardens." In the following September Mr. Ensor, the architect, laid before the Committee a plan for this room, and was desired to proceed in the work with as little delay as possible. The Right Hon. Charles Gardiner,

[1] Portfolio No. 21.

one of the Governors, was asked to undertake the superintendence of the work, which occupied about three years. In December, 1766, the Governors decided to raise the subscription for the Gardens for the ensuing year to two guineas on account of the better accommodation afforded by the new room. The room as originally built was 80 ft. in diameter and 40 ft. high, and was estimated as capable of accommodating some two thousand people, the entrance being from the end of Sackville Street at the south-east corner of the Hospital ground. One passed first through a pavilion into a large entrance hall, where the servants and chair-men were supposed to wait for their employers, and from this into the Great Hall, the interior of which was richly decorated. Round the wall there were eighteen Corinthian pilasters, and in the intervals between these there was much rich stucco work. The ceiling, too, was elaborately decorated with stucco. The decorations, however, were not confined to the inside, for the outside wall was surrounded by a frieze of ox skulls and festoons made of Wedgwood-ware.[1] This room, now known as the "Round Room," was called the "Rotunda," and it is from this that the Hospital derived the name by which it is now almost universally known. The first mention in the minutes of this name for the room occurs in the account of the meeting of the Governors on May 9th, 1767. In October of that year the building was sufficiently completed to be lent with "any of the large rooms in the hospital as shall be wanting" to the Marquis of Kildare for the reception of his friends.

The Rotunda seems to have been not only the largest, but also the most elaborately decorated room of the kind then in Dublin, and the Governors felt that they could command a high price for its use. Its construction cost the Hospital £4,241 2*s*. 4½*d*.,[2] and in it was placed the organ which had been ordered by Mosse from Mr. Snetzler, of London, for the Chapel. For this organ the Governors paid £314 14*s*. with a view to having it erected in the Chapel, but it was found to be too large and was in consequence transferred to the Rotunda. One can form an idea of the value of this room to the Hospital by the following order which was made by the Governors at their meeting on January 22nd, 1768: "Ordered that the Right Hon. Charles Gardiner be at liberty to lett the Rotunda for one night for a sum not lĕss than sixty guineas." On November 4th, 1768, the Governors "ordered that four Oratorios be performed in the Rotunda this winter, agreeable to a plan this day laid before the Board."

[1] 'Irish Builder,' December 15th, 1893.

[2] Portfolio No. 110.

WEDGWOOD DECORATIONS ON THE ROTUNDA.

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There was an additional advantage in the provision of this room in that it was easier to control the admission of those who attended the entertainments. Ever since the opening of the Gardens there had been trouble on account of the riotous behaviour of some who gained admission, and it can be well imagined how the presence of this disturbing element would militate against the success of the entertainments. On January 8th, 1762, it was reported "that the band of musick was abused and ill-treated in the garden, yesterday evening," and the Governors directed that "an advertisement be inserted in the public papers requesting that no disturbance of that kind may be made in the future; otherwise the Governors will be under the disagreeable necessity of publishing names or directing prosecutions." Again, in the following year an advertisement was issued offering a reward of twenty guineas for information which would lead to the conviction of "such offender or offenders."[1] These efforts were not altogether successful, for on March 25th, 1765, the offer of reward was repeated, and in June the Governors "ordered that the Register do get the wall near the Coffee room raised and glassed, to prevent idle people from climbing over."

[1] Portfolio No. 87.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REV. THOMAS MOSSE, CHAPLAIN, AND THE TEACHING OF MIDWIFERY

The appointment in 1763 of the Rev. Thomas Mosse as chaplain was destined to be one of great consequence to the progress of the Hospital. Thomas Mosse was gifted with qualities not unlike those of his uncle, and these he directed whole-heartedly to the benefit of the Hospital. At first he confined himself strictly to his duties as chaplain, and succeeded in making the services in the Chapel a source of considerable income to the Hospital. When the accounts of the Chapel were audited on December 25th, 1768, it was found that there was a balance in hand for the use of the Hospital of £245 5*s.* 9*d.* On May 16th, 1769, probably in recognition of his work, both he and his cousin Charles, the son of the Master, were elected on the Board of Governors. Charles Mosse had been proposed as far back as April 15th, 1766, but had never been put forward for election, apparently owing to his own wish.

Just before his election as Governor the chaplain had brought before the Board a proposal for the management of the Garden entertainments. He recommended the Governors "to commit their musick to the government and protection of the gentlemen of the subscription concerts."[1] In spite of the opening of the new room, which had cost upwards of £6,000, there had been little addition to the receipts from the Garden, and it had been suggested that the Garden should be set to a company at a fixed rent. This proposal had more support from the Board than was expected, on account of the difficulties in managing the musicians and others employed there. Under these circumstances the Board gladly agreed to the proposal of the chaplain, and from that time he acted as managing director under the Committee of Subscribers. He engaged the singers, paying several visits to London for the purpose, and managed generally all the entertainments. The results of this were quite remarkable. The average profit for the nine years 1760–1768 inclusive was just under £450, and the average profit for the five succeeding years was just

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 190.

over £480. This was not a very large increase, but when we come to examine the receipts the result is more remarkable. The total receipts in 1760 amounted to £1138 19*s.* 6*d.*, in 1772 the sum was £2629 15*s.* 7*d.*, while the greatest sum received in the nine years was £1524 0*s.* 8½*d.* in 1767, while the smallest sum received in the five later years was £1919 11*s.* 4*d.* in the year 1770, and in November of that year Mosse received the thanks of the Governors "for his great trouble and attention which have produced a large increase to the funds of the hospital." In the winter of 1771, Mosse promoted a concert in the Rotunda, which he described as "one of the best concerts that ever was set on foot in Ireland."[1] This, however, proved a financial failure, the expenditure exceeding the receipts by £942 7*s.* 10½*d.* Though the profits on the entertainments for the year 1772 were over £500, still, the loss on this concert seems to have shaken the confidence of the Governors in his management.

During this period Mosse had been instrumental in getting the Governors to lay out a sum of nearly £1000 on permanent improvements in the Hospital and Garden, and though this expenditure was of the nature of capital investment, there being no capital available for the purpose, it was paid for out of the income of the Hospital. In 1772 the Governors found themselves in debt, and at a loss to know where to look for money to pay for current expenses. The financial condition of the Hospital was not really bad, since the debt amounted only to about £800, and there were subscriptions and other moneys due, which, if collected, would produce at least £600.

In this year, 1772, the Rev. Edward Bayly succeeded the Rev. Isaac Mann as Archdeacon of Dublin, and became an *ex officio* member of the Board of the Hospital. He was interested in Dublin charities, having a few years previously taken some part in the foundation of the Magdalen Asylum, and on March 27th, 1767, he preached a charity sermon in the Hospital chapel, at which was collected a sum of £83 towards the funds of the institution. Though Treasurer for many years of the Cathedral of Down, Bayly admitted that he knew nothing of accounts, and the finances of the Hospital seemed to frighten him very much.

On April 17th, 1772, an anonymous letter appeared in the 'Freeman's Journal' deploring the state of the Hospital funds, dwelling on the great loss sustained through the concert of the previous winter, and urging the public to save the Hospital by an increased attendance at the summer

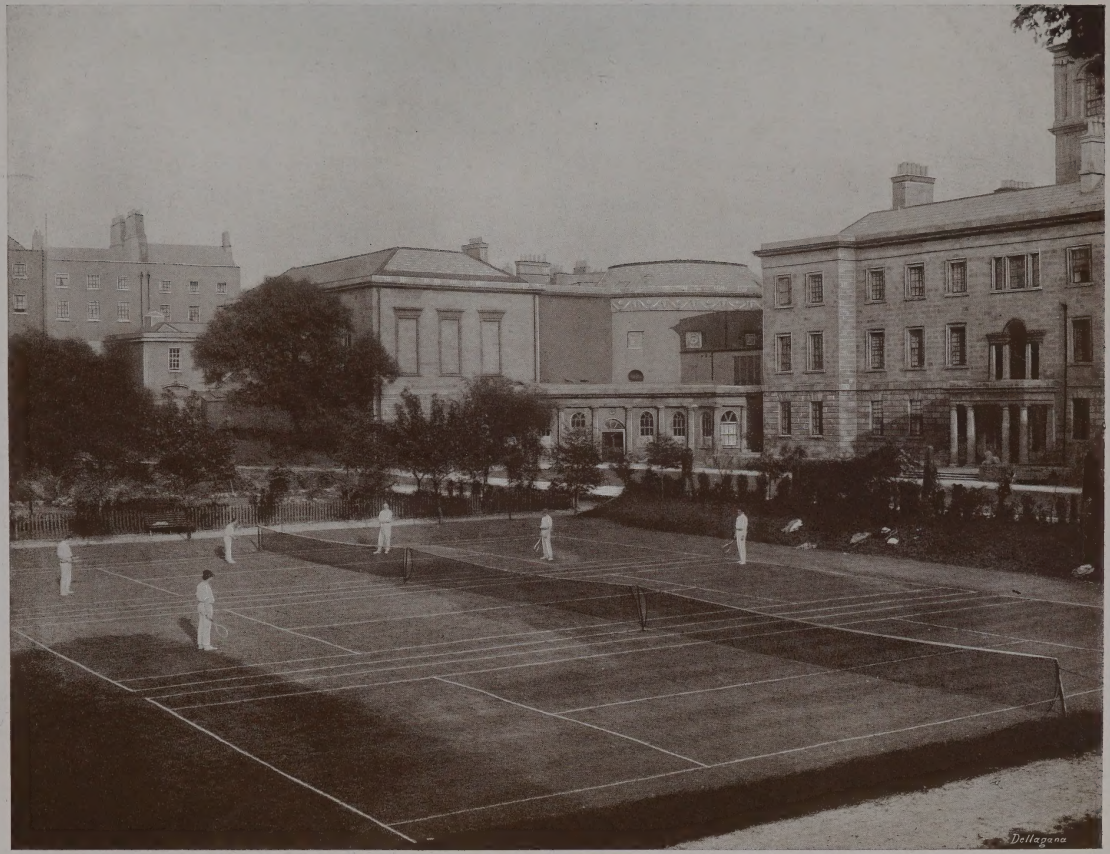
[1] 'Mosse,' Letter, p. 19.

entertainments. This letter, for which the Archdeacon was thought to be responsible, caused alarm to the Governors. Mosse, however, was not in the least frightened, and in the following week published a letter pointing out the true state of affairs. He stated that he believed the Gardens would in the next year produce a profit of upwards of £1500. He was prepared to back his opinion too, and offered, under certain conditions, to guarantee a profit of at least £1200. His offer was not accepted, and the management of the Gardens was transferred from him to the Archdeacon. That Mosse was justified in his offer may be inferred from the fact that the Gardens, carried on according to his plan, produced in the year 1773 a profit of £851 8*s*. 1½*d*., or nearly £300 more than they had ever before produced in a single year. Mosse, however, had lost the confidence of the Governors, his accounts were complicated, and though a committee was appointed to examine them, it was not till March 15th, 1775, that the report was finally made on them, showing that a sum of £129 2*s*. 11*d*. was due to him. In the meantime, in April, 1774, Mosse had published a pamphlet entitled, 'A Letter to Dean Bayly, Archdeacon of Dublin,'[1] in which he left the matter in dispute between them to the judgment of the public. In this letter he showed how his sister, Mary Mosse, had helped him with the Garden entertainments, told of the work which he had done for the Hospital which he loved so well, and suggested the construction of the assembly rooms, a work which the Governors undertook some years later.

The chaplain, however, was not content with the work provided for him by the duties of his office with the added responsibilities of the management of the Garden entertainments, but he also took a most active part in the general administration of the Hospital. Bartholomew Mosse, in planning his Hospital, had always put in the forefront the idea that the institution was to be a great school of midwifery both for medical men and nurses. He maintained that the facilities there afforded for study would prevent Irish medical students being compelled to seek a knowledge of their profession in foreign countries, and this claim he put prominently forward when seeking for the Royal Charter. In spite of this no systematic study had been organised either by him or his successor, Sir Fielding Ould. It is probable that students attended the Hospital, but no record of the fact has been found, and certainly no regular lectures on midwifery were delivered.

There was, however, a very pressing necessity for obstetric teaching in Dublin. The French school, which had received such praise from Ould, had

[1] 'Mosse,' Letter.



THE TENNIS COURTS.

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sadly declined owing to the edict of the Government, passed a few years previously, closing the wards of the Hôtel-Dieu to students in consequence of their alleged indecent behaviour.[1] This caused the teaching in Paris to pass almost entirely into private hands, and consequently there was a great diminution in the facilities for clinical study. While this was the case in France, vigorous efforts were being made both in England and Scotland to improve the teaching of midwifery. The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, as early as 1741, under the terms of their Charter, had put in force heavy penalties against all who presumed to practise midwifery without having first obtained a license from the Faculty.[2] In 1756 Dr. Young, who for five years had taught midwifery privately in Edinburgh, was elected professor of that subject in the University, and was the first to give lectures there, though he had two predecessors in the chair.[3] In London, Smellie, though not attached to the staff of any hospital, was attracting many pupils, while the lying-in hospitals opened there since the year 1749 were beginning to afford facilities for students. If Dublin was to keep her medical students at home it was necessary that teaching should be provided for them. Both London and Edinburgh were of much more easy access than Paris, and already large numbers of Irish students were seeking the medical degrees of the Scottish universities.

The whole subject of the teaching of midwifery was at the time in a ferment. In London the women practitioners were making their last desperate fight against the men midwives, and the latter in return were seeking to raise the status of their profession by increasing the severity of the curriculum of those who sought entrance to it. Mosse no doubt in his visits to London in connection with the Garden entertainments, became fully conversant with this movement for the betterment of the teaching, and his anxiety to further in every way the interests of the Dublin Hospital fully explains the action which he took in the matter.

The College of Physicians and Trinity College had in 1749 made some provision for the teaching of midwifery in their school by the appointment of Nathaniel Barry as King's Professor of Chirurgery and Midwifery. This appointment had been made in pursuance of the Act of Parliament passed in 1741 for the regulation of the money derived from Sir Patrick Dun's will. It is, however, very doubtful if Barry ever lectured at all, and it is almost certain

[1] 'Tolver,' p. 2.
[2] 'Glaister,' p. 52.
[3] 'McClintock,' p. 17.

that he did not lecture in midwifery. When the President and Vice-President of the College of Physicians were examined before a Committee of the House of Lords, appointed in January, 1756,[1] to inquire "what good purposes have been answered" in pursuance of the Act above mentioned they were asked by the Archbishop of Dublin "if any lectures have been read," but they refused to answer that question as it tended to incriminate themselves.[2] When the rupture between the two Colleges took place, subsequent to the granting of the degree in medicine to Ould, the King's Professors seem to have withdrawn entirely from the medical school.

In June, 1761, George Cleghorn was appointed Lecturer in Anatomy in Trinity College, and with his fellow Lectures, Hutcheson in Chemistry, and Span in Botany, he was most anxious to make the medical school of the College as complete as possible. There was a difficulty in procuring a lecturer in the practice of medicine, owing to the unwillingness of the King's Professor to participate in the teaching and the impossibility of depriving him of his office, but Cleghorn made tentative efforts to overcome this difficulty by having lectures on midwifery read in the Anatomy House. Had Barry ever lectured on midwifery, probably such a course of action would not have been permitted, but as midwifery lectures were a new departure no objection was raised. John Charles Fleury, M.D., was selected as lecturer, and he applied to the Board of Trinity College, through Henry Mercier, Senior Fellow, for permission to lecture. The Board directed him to procure a certificate of fitness to discharge this duty from the lecturers on the College foundation, which he at once did, and in or about 1763 he began his course of lectures. Our knowledge of these transactions depends on Fleury's own testimony,[3] for curiously enough no record of them is preserved in the Register of Trinity College. Fleury tells us that, besides reading lectures, he also gave practical instruction to the students of his class "in damp cellars and cold garrets," among the poor of the city. This course of lectures was continued annually till about 1769, and seems to have been the first ever established in Dublin. All attempts to make the medical school of Trinity College a complete school of physic proved for a time abortive owing to the continued friction between the Colleges, and in 1769, Fleury, feeling hopeless of the success of the scheme, of which his course of lectures was a part, abandoned it except for one or two introductory lectures each year.

Such, then, was the state of affairs in Dublin when, at the quarterly meeting

[1] 'Journals of the House of Lords,' vol. iv, p. 44.

[2] 'Parliamentary Papers, Ireland,' Bundle 8, No. 8.

[3] 'Fleury,' p. 7.

of the Governors on November 2nd, 1770, the suggestion was made that systematic teaching of midwifery should be begun in the Hospital. The plan was submitted by William Bury, one of the Governors, and at the same time a scheme was submitted by the Chaplain for the regular instruction of women, who, when trained, might serve in the country as midwives. These schemes were formally received by the Governors and by them referred to the Committee for consideration and adoption. A week later these schemes were taken into consideration, and the Committee ordered "that the great room on the East side of the entrance into the Hospital be properly fitted up and apparatus provided for lectures in Midwifery and Disorders incident to Women and Children."[1]

The Committee, however, were of opinion that the offices of Master and Lecturer should be distinct, and, on the testimony of Dr. Collum, recommended David MacBride for the post of lecturer. No details are given in the minutes of this scheme for the teaching of medical students, but the scheme adopted for the teaching of midwives is given in full as follows:

"Ordered that immediately after the appointment of Sheriffs for the next year, the Committee do meet and draw by Lott the names of six Counties of this Kingdom; to the Governors and Sheriffs of which, the Secretary shall immediately give notice by Letter, that an application will be made at the next ensuing Assizes to the Sheriffs and Grand Juries of the sd Counties, requesting in the name of the Governors etc. that they will each of them appoint a woman, of suitable Age and good Character, to be forthwith sent up to the Lying-in Hospital, there to be employed as a Nurse-Tender, and instructed in Midwifery by the Master and the Assistants, to whose Rules and Directions it is expected that they be intirely amenable, during the time of their Residence in the Hospital; in order that the said Women may return to their respective Counties duly qualified to practice that useful and necessary Art. And also requesting that the Sheriffs and Grand Juries will afford such Contribution as to them shall seem fit, for the Maintenance of these Women during their Residence in the Hospital. That the Secretary do write such Letters to the Sheriffs and Grand Juries of the Counties so chosen by Lott, in persuance of the foregoing Resolution. That the Women so appointed shall be received into the Hospital as Nurse-Tenders, and instructed in Midwifery by the Master and Assistants, till they shall be thought sufficiently qualified to return and practice in their several Counties. That when it shall appear, by the Certificate of the Master to the Board or the Committee, that such

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 212.

Women are so qualified, then the same rule shall be observed, with respect to the other Counties of the Kingdom, as they shall be successively chosen by Lott. And that this Resolution be published in the publick Papers."[1]

This resolution now seems cumbersome and difficult of application, but it had its advantages. In the first place the duty of teaching was placed on the Master and his assistants, that is, on those who were responsible for the practice in the Hospital, and secondly, it was calculated to interest a wide area of the country in the institution. The plan, however, did not work in practice, though on February 8th, 1771, the counties of Kildare, Dublin, Roscommon, Antrim, Sligo, and Wexford were drawn by lot as entitled to send up women to be instructed as nurses. Whether they all sent up women is not certain. Wexford apparently did, for on June 10th, 1772, it was ordered by the Committee "that Mrs. Shaw, the county of Wexford Midwife, be discharged, the Master certifying that she is duly qualified to practice in that county," and on April 7th, 1773, Mrs. Mary Grogan, the county of Limerick Midwife, was similarly licensed. There probably were others, but their names have not been recorded, and on April 5th, 1773, when the Committee was summoned to draw lots for two counties, it was decided to postpone the drawing, and to empower the Master "to employ two women in the room of those leaving the hospital."[2]

On May 7th, 1773, the Governors resolved that a committee of ladies consisting of the wives of all the Governors together with the "Rt. Hon. Lady Moira, the Hon. Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Letitia Moore, Lady Butler, Mrs. Gardiner and Mrs. King" should be asked "to inspect the management of the patients" and "aquaint the Governors with such observations as they shall think proper for their notice." This was merely a revival of the ladies' committee appointed so far back as November 7th, 1760, when "the Rt. Hon. Lady Arabella Denny, the Hon. Mrs. Bury, the Hon. Mrs. Hamilton of Summerhill, the Lady Mayoress, and Lady Ould" had been asked to undertake a similar work for the Hospital. The ladies now appointed met the Governors in the following month, and, in accordance with their report, it was resolved "that many inconveniences have arisen from the present mode of employing the women sent from the country as Nurse-tenders. Resolved, that Nurse-tenders be hired as usual; and that the women sent from the different counties to be instructed in Midwifery, be obliged to assist in taking care of the patients, and to take it in turns to sit up at night."

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 213.
[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 239.

A CORRIDOR ON THE FIRST FLOOR OF THE MATERNITY HOSPITAL.

ıee page 76.

Some time later, February 2nd, 1781, it was "Resolved that the appointment of the nurses and the inspection into their behaviour be in the Master of the Hospital." After this we hear no more of the drawing of lots. Looking back at the scheme we can almost see that it was doomed to failure, even though it laid the foundation of one of the most important of the present functions of the Hospital, the training of nurses. We can well imagine how the women sent up with such ceremony from the counties lauded it over their less fortunate, though perhaps more efficient, fellow nurses in the Hospital; how, though they might be "intirely amenable" to the "Rules and Directions" of the Master and the assistants, they would trouble the matron and housekeeper, and how the friction thus introduced would soon make the position intolerable for all concerned. The scheme was lost, but the essential part of it, the teaching functions of the Master and the assistants, remained to bear good fruit.

Almost immediately after the proposal for lectures was adopted, on November 16th, 1770, the chaplain proposed "that the Master, the Physician and the Assistants, be desired to give their attendance, between the hours of ten and twelve, on every Monday and Friday, in order to give their advice and administer medicines to such out patients as shall offer themselves, labouring under disorders incident to Women and Children." This proposal was adopted by the Board on February 1st, 1771, and directions were given that the room on the east side of the hall was to be furnished for that purpose. This scheme for an out-patient department, Mosse tells us in his letter to Dean Bayly,[1] was suggested to him by Dr. MacBride, and a sum of £167 9*s*. 6½*d*. was expended in fitting up the room and furnishing an apothecary's shop adjoining it. The scheme proved successful, and considerable numbers of women applied for medicine and treatment. So successful, indeed, was it that the drain proved too great for the scanty funds of the Hospital, and on April 7th, 1777, the Governors decided "that the institution for relieving external patients be discontinued on account of the expense of it to this charity."[2]

The establishment of lectures on midwifery in the Hospital did not prove to be an easy matter, and considerable opposition was at once made to the project. An anonymous pamphlet entitled 'Reasons Against Lectures in the Lying-in Hospital' was published and widely circulated among the ladies of Dublin. This pamphlet, attributed by Jebb to the Master, William Collum, suggested

[1] 'Mosse,' Letter, p. 13.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 317.

that the patients in the Hospital were to be subjected to all sorts of indignities in order to afford instruction to "a parcel of Brats of Boys, the Apprentices of Surgeons and Apothecaries." A copy of this pamphlet is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy,[1] and an answer to it in the form of a letter was published in the 'Freeman's Journal' for January 1st, 1771; a further answer, published anonymously in the same year, was written by Dr. Frederick Jebb.[2] The letter in the 'Freeman's Journal,' signed by "Letitia Modest," deals very fully with the matter from the point of view of the supposed indelicacy of the lectures. It is pointed out that these lectures are to be delivered to men, in a special room set apart for the purpose, that it was not intended that any women should be present, and that the object was to educate those who would afterwards have to attend the women, in order that they might bring to their practice some knowledge of the subject instead of merely acquiring this knowledge by contact with the patient. The writer goes on to point out the impropriety of the pamphleteer making quotations from medical works on obstetrics and seeking by such to prejudice women against the teaching of the subject. The logical conclusion of such a practice would be to have a committee of ladies "with delicacy on their Right hand and Gravity on their left proceeding with great solemnity through our several Libraries and Hospitals and purging them of every book and every practice which had for its object any of the Disorders incident to the female Sex."[3]

Jebb, in his pamphlet entitled "A view of the schemes at present under the consideration of the Governors of the Lying-in Hospital," takes a very common-sense view of the whole matter. Having first passed a well-deserved eulogy on Dr. Mosse, he pointed out that the scheme formed an integral part of the original project of the Hospital; that theoretical teaching was of equal importance with practical, and that while Dublin had the finest school for practice in the Kingdom, there was no settled provision for the teaching of the theory of midwifery. He pointed out to the Master that if the students behaved with impropriety it was his own fault, for he should admit as students only those who merited such a favour. Further, he asked, were students admitted to lectures more likely to behave badly than those admitted to the practice of the Hospital on their presenting their "fifty pounds to the Master"?[4] The pupils in each case must be the pupils of the Master.

[1] Collum.

[2] Jebb.

[3] 'Freeman's Journal,' 31, i, 1771.

[4] Jebb, p. 16.

Finally, Jebb called on Dr. Fleury, who had lectured on midwifery for some years in the anatomy house of Trinity College, to express his opinion. Fleury replied in a pamphlet published shortly after, in which he expressed himself as not altogether pleased with the plan of the Governors, though he disclaimed all connection with the opposition to it.[1] He disliked the scheme, because he considered that the medical school and not the Hospital was the proper place for theoretical teaching, and he feared that if such teaching were given in the Hospital all the ancillary subjects taught in the medical school, which were so necessary for the practitioner, would be neglected. He wished for a complete school of medicine, where every student would be taught the theory, after which he should attend the hospitals to learn practice. Further, he disliked the idea of the Master and the lecturer in the Hospital being separate persons. Though such an arrangement might work well while, as they then were, the Master and the lecturer were close friends, he wisely foresaw that such a state of affairs might not exist in the future, and if such a thing happened friction would be sure to arise between them, and not only damage the lectures but also be hurtful to the Hospital. In the pamphlet he gives us a most interesting account of his own work as a lecturer, and tells us how it was his habit to take his class with him to the houses of the poor in order that he might add to his lectures practical instruction.

Evidently as a result of this controversy, and the opposition of the Master, the lectures were not started, though the resolution of the Board remained uncancelled. Collum went out of office in November, 1773, and was succeeded by Jebb. At a meeting of the Governors held in the Parliament House on February 21st, 1774, the Master proposed "that Dr. M'Bride be called upon to give lectures agreeable to a former resolution of the Board."[2] During the interval the opinion of the Governors had undergone some modification, with the result that the two following resolutions were passed: (1) "That it is the opinion of this Committee that the Master is the most proper person to instruct pupils in the hospital, whether male or female, as well in theory by lectures as in practice." (2) "That in as much as Dr. McBride has been mentioned before, and as the members who compose this Committee are impressed with the strongest Sense of his great abilities, the Register do wait on him and show him this resolution, as well as that of a former Board where he is mentioned, assuring him that the notions which

[1] Fleury.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 268.

have influenced them to come to the above resolution are derived solely from the idea they entertain of the impropriety of appointing a stranger to teach the theory in the hospital, when the Master, who must necessarily teach the practice, appears to them qualified for both." Thus, while adhering to their former resolution of asking Dr. MacBride to lecture, the Governors came to the wise conclusion that the discharge of this duty was properly the function of the Master, and subsequent to MacBride's death the Master alone was responsible for the teaching in the Hospital.

Unfortunately little definite information has been preserved about MacBride's lectures. They did not start at once, for on March 26th, 1774, Dr. MacBride signified a desire of having the resolutions concerning him published, and the Board empowered the Master to publish in the newspapers so much of them as he thought fit. In the following May MacBride was elected a member of the Board of the Hospital, and in August he stated that it was his intention to lecture in the Hospital "as soon as he conveniently can." In the 'Freeman's Journal' for September 27th, 1774, the following notice is given of the lectures:

"MIDWIFERY.

"Young Gentlemen now preparing for the Winter Medical Courses, will take notice that Dr. MacBride, a Governor of the Lying-in Hospital, having accepted of the office of Lecturer, to which he had been nominated by that Board in 1770, will commence Lectures on the Theory of Midwifery, and the Diseases of Women and Children in the Month of December next, in the Lying-in Hospital Dublin. And in as much as a thorough knowledge of that Profession can only be attained by a careful Application of the Principles of Theory to Practice, I think it not improper to add, that my utmost Pains and Attention will be exerted, as Master of the Hospital, for the Advantage of Pupils in the Practical Part.

"Terms of admission may be known by applying to Dr. MacBride, or to me.

"FRED. JEBB.

"Lying-in Hospital.
"*Sept.* 16*th*, 1774."

In the same journal for December 27th, 1774, is the following notice:

"Dr. MacBride's Course of Lectures in the Theory of Midwifery, will Commence at the Lying-in Hospital, on Friday the 30th of December at half past two o'Clock. The Pupils who choose to attend the Practice will have the

additional advantage of a Course of Clinical Lectures, by Dr. Jebb, on all Puerperal Cases, as well as the opportunity of seeing an Extensive Practice on external patients, for the Disorders peculiar to Women and Children.

"Lying-in Hospital,
"*Nov.* 25*th*, 1774."

"N.B.—Dr. Jebb will admit Gentlemen who have already finished the Theory under other Professors, to the advantage of the Practice here, if they appear to him qualified."

McClintock tells us that he had the authority of Dr. Collins for stating that MacBride delivered several such courses of lectures in the Hospital before his death.

A curious light is thrown on the relations between the Master and his assistants by the following advertisement which appeared in the same paper that announced MacBride's lectures. The advertiser, Edward Foster, had been appointed assistant to Collum on August 23rd, 1772, and he continued in office under Jebb till August, 1775:

'Freeman's Journal,' Tuesday, September 27th, 1774.

"On Tuesday the 22nd of November next, will commence *a Course of Lectures and Demonstrations upon the Theory and Practice of Midwifery;* in which the Principles of that Art will be distinctly explained, its most extensive Branches (including the Diseases peculiar to Women and Children) will be methodically taught, and its several Operations clearly demonstrated, upon Machines of the best Construction, by Edward Foster, M.D. at his House, No. 13, in Anglesea-street, and at the hour immediately following, the Anatomical Lecture in the College.

"Having at considerable Expence, and with much Trouble, procured from Doctor Hunter, Professor of Anatomy in London, and Physician to the Queen, that celebrated Apparatus, upon which the late ingenious and learned Dr. Smellie formed above nine Hundred Accoucheurs, exclusive of female Students, in a Series of two hundred and eighty Courses of Lectures (as he declares in the Preface of his Treatise on Midwifery), and this being the first and only Apparatus that has yet made its Way into this Kingdom, Dr. *Foster* is determined to adhere to his Resolution of delivering two Courses of Lectures every Winter, during the private Anatomical Course of the College, and one or two Courses during the Summer, in order to establish a regular

School of Midwifery in this City, by which Students may have an opportunity of attending, the whole Year, or at any particular Season.

"And in order to confirm Pupils in the true Doctrines of Midwifery, as fundamentally taught upon, and at first only intelligible by an Apparatus, sufficient real Practice will be procured upon the most moderate Terms, and the most convenient Circumstances.

"The Terms of Admission both to the Lectures and real Practice are extremely moderate, and may be known by Application to the Doctor. On the same Day, at 7 o'Clock in the Evening, will commence a Course of Lectures and Demonstrations on Midwifery, for the Use of the Midwives employed by the Lying-in and Inoculation Charity, at which Women will be admitted on moderate Terms.

"No. 13, Anglesea-street,
"Sept. 19, 1774."

CHAPTER IX

THE MASTERSHIPS OF COLLUM, JEBB AND ROCK

The three masters who succeeded Ould added little to the history of the Hospital. William Collum, who was appointed on November 2nd, 1766, had, as we have seen, been assistant master almost since the foundation of the Hospital, having been continued in that position after the death of Mosse by Sir Fielding Ould. He was the first assistant master of the Hospital, and no other seems to have been appointed till just before the termination of Ould's mastership, when on July 22nd, 1766, he nominated Henry Rock to the position, and the Governors approved the appointment. Very little information has survived about Collum. He seems to have been one of those practitioners who learned their profession as an apprentice, but we have no information as to the master to whom he was apprenticed, nor is there any record of his having obtained the qualification of any licensing body. McClintock states that he was one of the surgeons of Steevens' Hospital,[1] but there is no record of his ever having held any official position in that institution. Gilborne, in his 'Medical Review,' refers to him in the following lines:

> "Who Collum calls is certain of a Cure,
> A skilful Surgeon, and a wise Accoucheur;
> Long did he govern kind Lucina's shrine,
> Oft re-elected in that Station shine;
> Where he presided with superior Powers,
> 'Till crouded Business fill'd his vacant Hours."

We doubt very much the accuracy of this description, for, if it is true, as Jebb alleges, that Collum was responsible for the pamphlet opposing the introduction of teaching in the Hospital, he can hardly be looked on as a wise governor.

Just about this time, too, there is ground for believing that he was not paying that attention to his duties which one would expect from the Master,

[1] 'McClintock,' p. 15.

for on November 1st, 1771, when he was re-elected Master for the fifth year, a complaint was made about him by the chaplain for non-attendance at the Hospital. The matter was referred to a committee, but the minutes of the Hospital record nothing more of it. It is improbable, too, that he ever had a very extensive private practice. His plea for remuneration as assistant master is based on his poverty, and on April 18th, 1783, the Governors "Resolved that the family of Dr. Collum be allowed the use of the Rotunda for a benefit, if they choose to have one, paying twenty guineas to the Hospital."[1] That such a procedure should be contemplated does not suggest that "crouded business fill'd his vacant Hours." The notice in the 'Freeman's Journal' on October 16th, 1781, "At Dr. Collum's house in Moore Street the lady of Capt. Massey of a daughter," makes one think that at that time he was trying to increase his practice by taking patients as paying guests in his own house.

During the mastership of Ould on May 2nd, 1760, as we have said, the Governors passed a resolution that the Master of the Hospital for the time being should be a Governor of the Hospital during his office and no longer, but this order was repealed at the meeting of the Board at which Collum was elected, and Ould was proposed as a Governor. On February 21st, 1767, the Committee expressed the opinion that the Master should be a Governor during his time of office, and at the general Board held on June 13th following, the previous order was revised, and Collum took his place on the Board. This rule has persisted ever since, and usually on his retiring from office the outgoing Master is elected a Governor for life. On February 4th, 1774, Collum was elected a Governor, and he attended the Board till February 1st, 1782. He died later in the year, but the exact date of his death is uncertain.

The work done in the Hospital increased considerably during his mastership, for in the seven years, 1760–1766, there had been 3800 women delivered of 3854 children, while in the following seven years the corresponding numbers were 4724 women delivered and 4800 children born. There was, however, no improvement in the mortality returns, which for the women in Ould's time were 1·28 per cent., and in Collum's 1·37 per cent. The death-rate among the children was very high. During Ould's time, of the 3854 children born, 197 were stillborn and 708 died before they left the Hospital. Collum lost 258 children at birth and 892 subsequently.

Collum had as assistants Henry Rock, William Lindley, Thomas Kelly, Frederick Jebb, Edward Foster, and Deane Swift. Lindley had been an

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 385.

THE HALL IN THE MASTER'S HOUSE.

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apprentice at the Meath Hospital, and in 1767 was appointed one of the surgeons there.[1] This appointment, however, he resigned on November of that year, when he was elected assistant master. He died in office in May, 1769, as we are told in the 'Freeman's Journal,'[2] "cut off by a fever in the bloom of youth." Of Collum's other assistants, Rock, Jebb and Foster were all candidates for the Mastership on November 5th, 1773, when Frederick Jebb, proposed by the Earl of Charlemont, was elected Master. Just before this election the Governors decided that for the future the Master was to reside in the Hospital, with his family, a custom that had been in abeyance since the death of Mosse, but has been strictly observed ever since.

Frederick Jeeb, though he did not make much mark in the medical world, was a man of some notoriety in other ways. His father Edward Jeeb,[3] an apothecary at Boyle, had died in 1771, leaving two sons, Frederick and Henry, both of whom were connected with the Rotunda Hospital. Frederick was educated in Paris, and on his return to Dublin changed his name to Jebb, probably, as Cameron suggests, to assimilate it to that of Sir Richard Jebb, the Physician to the King in London. On May 30th, 1767, Jebb was appointed assistant master on the nomination of Collum, and remained in office till August 6th, 1772. In 1770 he published in Dublin a short work entitled 'A Physiological Inquiry into the process of Labour,'[4] a paper which he acknowledges contains merely an epitome of the views put forward by M. Petit, of Paris, in explanation of the factors which determine the onset of labour. In 1771 he published, as we have seen, a reply to the Master on the question of the holding of lectures in the Hospital, and advocated strongly the adoption of this procedure.

When Jebb came into office he found Edward Foster and Deane Swift assistants, and they were both continued in office. One of the first things he did was to urge the Governors to call on Dr. MacBride to lecture in the Hospital, but though the Governors passed several resolutions on the matter it was not till the close of 1774 that the lectures were begun. Jebb seems to have been most anxious that everyone connected with the Hospital should attend to the duties of his office. There was one officer, Dr. Ezekiel Nesbitt, the Consulting Physician, who had left the country to live in Bath nearly ten years before, and the Governors, on the suggestion of Jebb, directed that a

[1] 'Ormsby,' p. 150.
[2] May 23rd, 1769.
[3] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 330.
[4] Jebb Enquiry.

letter be sent to him asking if he intended to return, and if not if he would resign. Nesbitt's letter of resignation was read to the Board on May 16th, 1774, but at the meeting ten days previously the Governors had elected Francis Hutcheson in his place. Hutcheson was a distinguished graduate in medicine of the Universities of Dublin and Glasgow, a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and had been Professor of Chemistry in Trinity College from 1760 to 1767. He had been for a short time in 1754 one of the Physicians to the Meath Hospital, and afterwards was Physician to the Lock Hospital. On May 16th, 1774, Hutcheson was elected a member of the Board, and continued till his death, ten years later, a most active member. At the same meeting at which Hutcheson was elected a Governor, the Master suggested the propriety of electing a consulting surgeon. This office seems to have been in abeyance since the appointment on February 19th, 1759, of Mr. James Sempill "to attend in the hospital as Surgeon."[1] Sempill must have disappeared from the Hospital very soon, for we meet with no other mention of his name subsequent to his appointment. Two names were mentioned for the new post of consulting surgeon, those of Mr. Perrin and of Mr. Deane Swift, and the latter, who had been assistant master, was elected. Swift was at the time assistant surgeon to Steevens' Hospital, surgeon to the Foundling Hospital, and one of the examiners of the candidate surgeons for the county infirmaries of Ireland. On November 11th, 1774, he was balloted for as a Governor of the Hospital but was rejected, and he died about a year later.

On November 3rd, 1775, Samuel Croker-King was elected consulting surgeon in place of Swift. In the previous August he had been elected a Governor on the recommendation of the Master, Dr. Hutcheson, and Dr. MacBride, as one who would "be advantageous to the charity." Samuel Croker-King had been elected assistant surgeon to Steevens' Hospital in 1756, and surgeon to the Workhouse a year later; he was the first President of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1784, and continued for many years a most active and efficient officer of the Hospital.

It was just about this time that the last connection between the family of Mosse and the Hospital was severed. The dispute between the chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Mosse, and Dean Bayly, referred to in the last chapter, led to Mosse giving up all connection with the Garden entertainments. In a footnote to the letter to the Dean, which he published in April, 1774, Mosse says, "by the time this letter appears before the public I shall be gone out of the Kingdom for the recovery of my health. As I don't know whether I shall

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 35.

ever be able to return, I thought it necessary to leave behind me a vindicated name."[1] In spite of his continued absence he was re-elected chaplain at the annual meetings in November, 1774 and 1775, but almost immediately after the latter election he died. At their next meeting, on December 5th, 1775, the Governors proceeded to draw up new regulations for the office of chaplain. It was decided that the chaplain was to reside constantly in the Hospital and "not to be absent from the Chapel above two Sundays successively, without the leave of the Governors." If "business or want of health should prevent his attendance for a longer time he shall name a person to officiate in his absence," who must be approved by the Board. It was further decided that "the Chaplain as such shall not be elected a Governor of this Charity," and candidates for the office were to preach in the Chapel before the election.[2]

On February 2nd, 1776, the Registrar read to the Governors the following letter from the Rev. Charles Mosse:

"*Feb.* 2, 1776.

"Sir,—I request you will acquaint the Board, that I desire you will take my name out of the list of Governors of the Lying-in Hospital. At the request of the late Rev. Mr. Thomas Mosse I accepted that charge. I have for some time past determined not to interfere in the concerns of that Charity.

"I am, Sir, Your humble Serv.,

"Char. Mosse."

The Governors resolved that "the desire of Mr. Mosse be complied" with and his name was accordingly erased from among the Governors. Charles, the eldest son of Bartholomew Mosse, had been baptised in St. Bridget's Church on May 5th, 1745. He entered Trinity College and was elected a scholar in 1764, graduating B.A. in 1766, and M.A. in 1769. He had attended the meetings of the Board with great regularity up to August, 1774, after which he did not attend again. In February, 1773, he was ordained, and in 1778 he married a Miss Jane Evatt. In 1791 he was made a Canon of St. Patrick's, being given the Prebend of Kilmactalway in the barony of Newcastle and Dublin. He died in 1800.[3]

When the Governors met on February 10th, 1776, to elect the new Chaplain, a request was received from the Lord Primate and the Lord Chancellor that the election should be postponed to some future day as they

[1] 'Mosse,' Letter, p. 38.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 299.

[3] 'Cotton,' vol. ii, p. 135.

were engaged on business with the Lord Lieutenant. The Governors, however, decided to proceed with the election, and the Rev. William Ould, M.A., eldest son of Sir Fielding Ould, was chosen Chaplain. At the annual meeting on November 1st, 1776, Lord Charlemont proposed and Dean Bayly seconded that the Rev. Mr. West be elected Chaplain, but on ballot Ould was re-elected by nine votes to two and was afterwards re-elected annually till his death.

In 1776 the cradle which had been erected above the weather vane on the cupola of the Hospital was found to be in an unsafe condition and had to be taken down. This cradle, which was gilded, had been put up by Mosse as a sort of emblem of the institution, and is shown in some of the early pictures of the Hospital,[1] but it was found to be too heavy for the exposed position in which it was placed and consequently was permanently removed. Unfortunately it has not been preserved.

The last few years of Jebb's mastership were times of great political excitement in Ireland, and we find this reflected in the work of the Hospital. The funds of the institution were low, and barely sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses incurred, owing to the number of poor who sought admission to the wards. The number of women delivered in the Hospital rose from 681 in 1774 to 1011 in 1779, while there was no corresponding increase in the income. In 1777 the volunteer movement had been started in Ireland to protect the country from the expected foreign invasion, and on September 10th, 1779, Mr. Gardiner was given by the Governors "leave to exercise his corps of volunteers in the Rotunda or on the gravel walk of the garden during the Winter months."[2] Lecky,[3] describing the country at the time, says: "War, restrictive laws, and the embargo on the provision trade had together destroyed almost every source of national wealth, and the Northern parts of Germany, and other countries round the Baltic were already making every effort to secure for themselves permanently the provision trade from which Ireland had been excluded. The drain of money to England still continued and Irish resources were still scandalously misused to provide sinecure rewards for English politicians. In the meantime, whilst discontent was on all sides increasing, the main defence of the country rested with a voluntary and perhaps illegal body, which had grown up in spite of the discouragement of the Government, which lay wholly beyond its control, and which had begun evidently to aim at political changes."

[1] 'Dub. Mag.'
[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 341.
[3] 'Lecky,' vol. ii, p. 237.

A VIEW IN THE GARDENS.

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Into this vortex of politics the Master threw himself, and his zeal and ability as a writer on the patriotic side soon made him a source of much danger to the Government. During the months of April, May and July of the year 1779 he published in the 'Freeman's Journal' a series of six letters on the affairs of Ireland in which he violently attacked the principle of binding that country by Acts of Parliament passed in England. He wrote under the signature of "Guatimozin," and the letters were shortly after issued in pamphlet form, being published in London, Belfast and Dublin.[1] Party spirit at the time ran high, and the Government of Ireland was greatly harassed, not only by troubles at home, but also by foreign affairs, and these letters had a marked effect in stirring up an active opposition.

Just as suddenly, however, as the letters had appeared did the writer cease his attack, and in a letter signed "Lictor," which appeared in the 'Freeman's Journal' on August 10th, 1779, the writer asked for an explanation of this silence. "Lictor" writes: "Am I to suppose that you think it a hopeless unprofitable subject; or, am I to think that you have gone the way of all Irish patriots and accepted a pension? God forbid:—Then would Sir Cecil Wray's remark be verified, 'a readiness in our Patriots to be corrupted, which even an English House of Commons might blush at.' There is a third cause for your silence which I flatter myself is the real one, because it is consistent with your liberality of principle and depth of judgment. You are searching for, and scrutinizing authorities, that your antagonists may not skulk behind the ambiguity of an expression nor defend oppression from behind the breastwork that was intended to defend right." "Lictor," however, misjudged "Guatimozin," as we learn from a private letter of the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham, to Lord North, dated Dublin Castle, November 19th, 1780.

The Lord Lieutenant had written an official letter recommending several persons as worthy of reward by the English Government for political services in Ireland, and in this private letter he says: "I think it my duty to state fully to your Lordship their services and pretensions." Having enumerated several persons for different rewards, he goes on to say: "Mrs. Elizabeth Jebb, wife of Dr. Frederick Jebb, a physician of this town, and author of the letters which appeared in the beginning of the last Session under the signature of Guatimozin, and other political productions. As the press was exceedingly violent at that time and had great effect in inflamming the minds of the people, it was recommended to me as a measure of absolute necessity

[1] Guatimozin.

by some means, if possible, to check its spirit. On this a negotiation was opened with Dr. Jebb, who was the chief of the political writers and he agreed upon the terms of my recommending him for a pension of £300 a-year to give his assistance to Government; since that time he has been very useful as well by suppressing inflammatory publications as by writing and other services which he promises to continue to the extent of his power."

We have not been able to find this letter among the official correspondence preserved in the Record Office in Dublin, but it is, however, referred to there, is quoted in full in 'Grattan's Life'[1] and accepted by Lecky,[2] so that there is no room for doubt as to its genuineness.[3] It is difficult to decide whether one feels more contempt for the Government which resorted to such methods, or for the individuals so shamelessly bought. One gleam of satisfaction we find in the sordid transaction in that Jebb seems never to have enjoyed the fruits of his baseness. Though many of Buckingham's requests were granted, and pensions to the extent of £7353 a year were added to the Civil List on December 20th, 1780, for twenty-three persons, Jebb's name was not among the number.[4] The English Government, while accepting so many of the recommendations, refused to honour them all, and Jebb was among the few neglected. No reason has been assigned for the refusal in the case of Jebb, but it need not for a moment be thought that any sense of honour actuated the Government in their refusal. The honour of the Lord Lieutenant was pledged in the matter, and Jebb's was no exceptional case, but so little honour was there in the whole business that the Government felt at liberty to spend money, where it might be productive of future benefit, and little more was to be expected from Jebb.

During the years 1780 and 1781 Jebb's pen was sometimes employed in defence of the Government. Thus in the former year he published a pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the Expediency of a National Circulation Bank for Ireland,"[5] on the title-page of which he acknowledges the authorship of the letters of "Guatimozin." This pamphlet was severely handled in an anonymous reply published in the same year, in which the author says, "I shall at present defer entering into a particular discussion of the Doctor's performance, and shall only lament that the manly energetic style of Guatimozin is so

[1] 'Grattan's Life,' vol. ii, p. 171.
[2] 'Lecky,' vol. ii, p. 229.
[3] 'United Irishmen,' p. 613.
[4] 'Commons Journals,' vol. xxi, p. 123.
[5] Jebb, 'Bank.'

totally lost in this futile attempt that we can scarcely suppose they flowed from the same pen."[1] In 1781 it is stated that he was employed by the Government to write an answer to Grattan's pamphlet on the Mutiny Bill, and in the Halliday Pamphlets in the Royal Irish Academy there are two papers, the authorship of which is attributed in manuscript to Jebb. This matter is referred to by Grattan's son in the life of his father, but there is some doubt of the accuracy of the story. Speaking of Jebb, Grattan says :[2] "Several years afterwards he met Mr. Grattan in private, and remarked how much he was endebted to him, for, through his means he had obtained £300 a-year, that the Government had employed him in 1781 to reply to his pamphlet on the Mutiny Bill, and they had rewarded him for his labours with this annuity." This story is improbable in itself, and as we have seen it is almost certain that, though recommended for the pension, Jebb never received it. Jebb did not long survive his mastership and the shameless barter of his honour, for he died early in the year 1782. The exact date of his death we have not been able to discover, but in the 'Freeman's Journal' for February 16th, 1782, there is a notice "to the several persons to whom the late Dr. Jebb was endebted," and on May 17th following administration of his goods was granted to his widow, he having died intestate.[3] Later on in the year an advertisement appeared of the sale of his furniture and the interest on the lease of his house, 20, St. Andrew Street.[4]

In view of his political career we can feel little respect or honour for the memory of Jebb, yet his mastership was important in that he was the first to begin systematic teaching in the Hospital. Though he did not lecture himself yet he was instrumental in obtaining the services of MacBride, and thus he laid the foundation on which his successors were to raise the great school of midwifery. During his mastership the work of the Hospital continued to increase, there being over one thousand more women delivered during the years 1773–1780 than there were in the previous seven years. In spite of this fewer women died, but the mortality among the children, both those who were stillborn and those who died after birth, was considerable—1190 of the 6007 children died before leaving the Hospital. During his term of office he had as his assistants Edward Foster and Deane Swift, who were continued from the time of Collum. After these came Alexander MacDowell, John

[1] Jebb Reply.
[2] 'Grattan,' Life, vol. ii, p. 192.
[3] 'Prerogative Grants,' 1782, p. 104.
[4] 'Freeman's Journal,' November 7th, 1782.

Halahan, Thomas Naghten, Thomas Costelloe, Christopher Fitzgerald, and his brother, Henry Jebb.

Of these we have seen that Deane Swift died in 1775, and Edward Foster's death is announced in the 'Freeman's Journal' of April, 1779. He had married in April, 1768, Miss Lucas, daughter of the patriot Charles Lucas, at one time Member of Parliament for the City of Dublin.[1]

John Halahan rose to considerable eminence in the profession in Dublin. Born in Cork in 1753, he was appointed assistant master at the age of twenty-one and remained in office for about three years. He devoted himself largely to the study of anatomy, and to his skill in making anatomical preparations Gilborne refers in the following lines:[2]

> "*John Hallahan* our just Esteem deserves,
> His curious Art dead Bodies long preserves
> Entire and sound, like Monuments of Brass;
> Embalm'd Ægyptian Mummies they surpass,
> Surpass the Labours of the famous *Ruysch,*
> He does Injections to Perfection push."

As this poem was published in 1775, we may assume that, even before he had relinquished his office of assistant, Halahan was engaged in anatomical work, and Cameron tells us that he taught anatomy in Dublin with great success.[3] On the foundation of the College of Surgeons, of which he was an original member, Halahan was appointed Professor of Anatomy, and on August 28th, 1789, he was appointed Professor of Midwifery also. In 1793 he resigned the latter Professorship, and in the following year retired from the Chair of Anatomy. In 1799, however, he was re-elected to the Chair of Anatomy and continued to lecture till 1804, when he finally resigned. He died in York Street in 1813.

Thomas Costelloe, who succeeded Halahan as assistant, was one of those elected a member of the College of Surgeons at the first meeting of that body. In 1785 he joined with other Physicians and Surgeons in founding the Dublin General Dispensary in the old post office yard, Temple Bar.[4] On the foundation of the College of Surgeons he applied for the post of Professor of Midwifery, but does not seem to have been appointed, for Halahan, who was

[1] 'Freeman's Journal,' 12, iv, 1768.
[2] 'Gilborne,' p. 44.
[3] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 473.
[4] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 325.

elected four years later, is given as the first Professor of that subject in the school.

Henry Jebb, the younger brother of the Master, was appointed assistant on March 30th, 1783, and is remarkable as having been the only assistant master to receive the honour of knighthood during his time of office. On July 29th, 1782, he was knighted by the Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant, at Dublin Castle,[1] though he did not resign his assistant mastership till March 28th following. We have not been able to find why this honour was conferred on him. Cameron says that it was in consequence of some obstetric assistance which he rendered at the Castle, but this seems to us unlikely; it may possibly have been connected with the refusal of the Government to pay for the services which his brother had rendered. On September 26th, 1793, Jebb succeeded John Halahan as Professor of Midwifery in the College of Surgeons, but resigned in the following year. He was for many years one of the Surgeons to Mercer's Hospital, and, according to Cameron, rivalled his colleague, Gustavus Hume, in building houses. North Frederick Street, opened in pursuance of an Act of Parliament[2] for the improvement of the city of Dublin passed in 1790, is said to have been called by him after his eldest son. Henry Jebb died in 1811.[3]

On November 3rd, 1780, the Governors met to elect a Master to succeed Frederick Jebb, and had before them memorials from Henry Rock, Thomas Costelloe and Thomas Kelly; Rock was unanimously elected, and in accordance with custom, took his place on the Board. One of the most remarkable things in the Hospital during the mastership of Rock was the great increase in the number of women delivered. Though he died before he had completed his sixth year of mastership, during the six years 1780–1786 there were 7088 patients delivered of 7214 children, compared with the 5903 women delivered of 6007 children during the seven years his predecessor was in office. It is difficult to judge of the results of his practice, for though only 54 women died, as compared with 63, and 553 children as compared with 921 in the previous seven years, yet the number of stillborn children rose from 269 to 411, and in the last year of his mastership the number of stillborn children reached the then unprecedented figure of 101 out of 1372 children born. The number of children who died in the Hospital after birth fell from 121 in the year 1781 to 51 in the year 1786. This increase in the number of

[1] 'Shaw's Knights,' vol. ii, p. 297.

[2] xxx Geo. iii, c. 19, S. 10.

[3] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 330.

children who were born dead, an increase which was progressive throughout the six years, would suggest either bad or neglectful practice on the part of the Master or the officials of the Hospital, but in the absence of any details of the cases one hesitates to draw any definite conclusions. The improved mortality among the women and the children who survived birth was in all probability due to the improved hygienic conditions of the Hospital, which resulted from the adoption of suggestions of Joseph Clarke, who held the office of assistant master from July 28th, 1783, to March 30th, 1786. These suggestions we shall treat of later in relating the history of Clarke's mastership, and here it is sufficient to say that on his resignation of the assistancy he received the special thanks of the Board for his valuable work during the time he held office. Besides Clarke, the other assistants to Rock were Christopher Fitzgerald and Henry Jebb, who had held office under Frederick Jebb. On May 15th, 1781, Fitzgerald was succeeded by Anthony O'Donnell, while Clarke succeeded Jebb. On May 15th, 1784, John Ford succeeded O'Donnell, and on March 30th, 1786, Thomas Evory succeeded Clarke. Ford and Evory were in office at the time of Rock's death on July 19th, 1786, and undertook the charge of the Hospital till the appointment of the new Master in November of that year.

During the time that Rock was Master an event of great importance to Irish medicine took place in the Hospital. On February 11th, 1784, the first Charter was granted to the Royal College of Surgeons, and on the 6th of that month the Board of that Hospital, at the request of Samuel Croker-King, granted the use of the Board room for the meetings of the College during the pleasure of the Governors. There for some three years the College continued to meet under the Presidency, first of Samuel Croker-King, then of John Whiteway, and afterwards of Robert Bowes.[1] On January 9th, 1786, the College voted a grant of ten guineas to the "Buildings fund" of the Hospital.

[1] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 130.

THE MATERNITY HOSPITAL AND THE PLUNKET CAIRNES WING AS SEEN FROM THE GARDENS.

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CHAPTER X

THE NEW ROOMS

When Rock was appointed Master of the Hospital, the New Garden, as it was called, was enclosed by a high wall, which, though it enabled the Governors to retain the exclusive use of the place for their subscribers and patrons, added nothing to the beauty of the city. The east, north and west sides, respectively known as Cavendish Row, Palace Row and Granby Row, had, however, been extensively built upon, and the houses were occupied by the nobility and gentry then resident in the city. The presence of this wall round the Garden formed a very unattractive prospect from the front of these houses, and on April 7th, 1784, the inhabitants presented a petition to the Board of the Hospital asking for permission to remove the wall and to substitute for it an iron railing. At the time the "Wide Street Commissioners," appointed first by Act of Parliament in 1757, were doing a great deal towards the improvement of the city, and as the results of their work became evident others seem to have been inspired with a similar laudable aim of making the city not only healthful but beautiful. At this time, too, the Governors, driven by the lessened income from the Gardens, had decided to make extensive additions to the Rotunda. It will be remembered that some years previously the Chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Mosse, had pointed out the advantage of such an addition, but at the time nothing was done. It was now decided to begin the work by building extensive and handsome rooms adjoining the Rotunda at the south-east corner of the Garden. The plans, designed by Richard Johnston, were before the Governors on April 14th, 1784; on May 7th they agreed to a general scheme for the building, and the foundation stone was laid on July 17th, 1784. The estimated cost of the new rooms was £6000, and this money the Governors proposed to raise partly by subscription and partly by an appeal to Parliament. Sixty gentlemen and forty ladies were each to subscribe ten guineas, which would bring in £1137 10*s*., and the Duke and Duchess of Rutland subscribed between them £400, which left a deficiency of £4162 10*s*. to be raised from other sources. The hundred subscribers were readily

obtained, and among the muniments of the Hospital is a book containing the architect's drawings of the new rooms with the original signatures of the various subscribers to the fund.

In this year an Act passed the Irish Parliament entitled "*An Act for the more effectually Paving, Cleansing and Lighting the Streets of the City of Dublin and other places therein mentioned; and for making sewers and erecting fountains and conduits in the said City, for the use of the poor and for other purposes therein mentioned.*"[1] Section 75 of this Act authorised the substitution of the railing for the wall round the square. Subsequent sections set out that the Governors might collect from those inhabitants of the square, who agreed to the change, a sum not to exceed £1 5*s.* per running foot of frontage of the houses, for making the railing; those who did not agree need not pay, and the wall was to be left in front of their houses. Besides this each of the householders was to pay to the Hospital 1*s.* 8¾*d.* each year per foot of frontage, 8*d.* of which was to go to the benefit of the Hospital, and 1*s.* 0¾*d.* for lighting lamps round the square. It was estimated that this tax would produce £51 8*s.* a year for the Hospital and £90 12*s.* 11*d.* for purposes of maintaining the lamps.

As a result of this Act the Hospital Garden was formed into a square, and the various "rows" which surrounded it were re-named, after the Lord Lieutenant, Rutland Square. M'Cready,[2] in his 'Dublin Street Names, dated and explained,' fixes the date of Rutland Square as 1792, but early in the year 1785 it was referred to under its present name.

The income from the square tax, imposed on the inhabitants by the Act of 1784, though it was advantageous to the inhabitants and the city generally, added little to the funds of the Hospital, and in the following year the Governors decided again to petition Parliament for help. Accordingly on February 7th, 1785, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, in which it was pointed out that the funds of the Hospital had become so deficient that at the time there was not a sum in the Treasurer's hands adequate to the support of the charity for the space of one month.[3] This state of affairs the Governors attributed to the additional work done in the Hospital, in that the number of patients had increased to double in the last ten years. Further, they stated "that the support and income of this Charity (produced almost entirely by profits on public amusements) has considerably decreased, the

[1] 23 and 24 Geo. III, Cap. 57, 1784.

[2] 'M'Cready,' p. 102.

[3] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xi, p. 325.

ROTUNDA & NEW ROOMS, DUBLIN.

London, Published Dec.r 1798.

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present accommodation being found inadequate to the Public, the style and refinements of the personal taste rendering more apartments necessary." It was also urged that the new rooms then building would be a great source of income to the Hospital and an ornament to the city. This petition was referred to a Committee of the House for consideration and report, and on the following day a report was presented in which the Committee gave it as their opinion that the petitioners deserve the aid of Parliament.[1]

The fact, however, that the petitioners had not received any Parliamentary aid the year previously seems to have debarred them from receiving any help as the result of this petition, and in consequence a further petition was presented to the House on March 24th, 1785. This time the Governors urged that unless they received help there was a danger that the rooms then under construction might be lost to the public and to the Hospital. These rooms, they pointed out, would, when finished, "tend to facilitate the intercourse of society to natives and foreigners on the most reasonable terms." They further urged that the charity, by laying out its gardens as a public square, in order to accommodate the public, had hazarded its support therefrom. The Governors concluded by saying that they had by every possible mode endeavoured to rescue the charity from certain impending ruin, and to render it less burdensome to society, and "if the relief hitherto afforded to the poor should partially or totally subside, petitioners have the satisfaction to reflect that they have discharged their trust with zeal and fervour."[2]

The petition was again referred to Committee, which reported favourably on it, and on April 29th Mr. Frederick Trench, member for Queen's County and one of the Governors of the Hospital, presented to the House of Commons a *Bill for the Completing and effectually lighting and watching Rutland Square and for the better Support and Maintenance of the Hospital for poor lying-in Women*.[3] When this Bill came up for second reading it was found to contain several errors, and was, by leave of the House, withdrawn, and Mr. Trench presented in its place another Bill which was read for the first time. This Bill passed through its successive stages in both Houses without amendment, and on July 19th, 1785, received Royal assent from His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.[4]

This Act[5] was one of great moment in the history of the Hospital, attempt-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 405.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 428.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 468.
[5] 25 Geo. III, Cap. 43.

ing, as it did, to place the institution permanently on the civil establishment of the country. Previously the grants made by Parliament had been mere acts of grace made from year to year as the result of special petitions, but now permanent recognition was for the first time given to it. As long ago as May 1st, 1727, an Act[1] had passed the Irish Parliament empowering the Governors of the workhouse "to license all such persons who shall keep drive or carry any hackney coach or coaches chairs or sedans and all carts or cars plying for hire." This formed a source of considerable income to the workhouse, or Foundling Hospital, and the example set was followed in the case of the Lying-in Hospital. Each private sedan chair in the city of Dublin or within a mile thereof was to be subject to a yearly tax of £1 15*s.* 6*d.*, which was to be collected by the Governors of the Foundling, and by them paid to the Governors of the Lying-in Hospital, less sixpence in the pound for collecting. The Act further permitted the Governors of the Lying-in Hospital to raise by mortgage of the license duty any sum not exceeding £5000, at legal interest for the purpose of completing the buildings then in hand—a most necessary provision when a large capital sum was so urgently needed. Provision also was made for collecting outstanding subscriptions to the Hospital.

Ever since the foundation it had been customary for the Governors to elect on the Board those men who promised to support a bed in the Hospital. Many such persons had been elected, but it was not always easy subsequently to collect the money, and a large amount was then in arrear under this head. So serious had this become that on August 6th, 1786, the Governors resolved unanimously that all members supporting beds were to be considered as pledged to continue their subscription for three years.[2] Power was given by this Act to the Governors to compound any arrears due, and they were directed to furnish to "the Commissioners of imprest Accounts" a return of those who had not so compounded their debts within six months. This return was to be laid before the House of Commons on the first day of the next session of Parliament "in order that such provision may be made as may be necessary for the effectual recovery thereof."

Another important section of the Act gave authority to the Grand Juries of the several counties "in alphabetical rotation, each annually to assess and raise off their respective counties at such times as they may judge proper, at intervals of five years at least between any repetition of such presentments, a

[1] 1 Geo. II, Cap. 27.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 440.

sum of thirty pounds sterling and to apply the same for the support and maintenance of one female pupil to be received and instructed in the Lying-in Hospital." The woman so selected was to be married, between the ages of thirty and forty years, to have had children and to be one "who shall not be likely to become resident in the town where the respective County infirmaries shall have been already established." This section was evidently intended to enable the Governors to carry out the scheme which they had formulated on November 9th, 1770, for the instruction of women who were to become county midwives, a scheme which had largely proved abortive owing to the difficulty of getting the necessary funds for the support of the women during their period of training. The remaining sections of the Act are largely taken up with administrative details and provision for the completion, watching, and lighting of Rutland Square, for which purpose a charge was made on each house of one shilling and ninepence for each foot of frontage for lighting, and one shilling for the payment of watchmen.

The passing of this Act, while it gave to the Governors of the Hospital certain privileges, and guaranteed to them a considerable yearly income, imposed on them also certain obligations of a more or less important nature. These obligations were not strictly confined to the management of the Hospital, but involved an interference with the management of civic affairs such as would now be considered quite foreign to a hospital board. This bringing of the Hospital into close relations with the life of the citizens was no doubt designed to interest the citizens in its welfare, and it was in this spirit that the Governors interpreted their duties, but it had obvious disadvantages. The entrusting of the policing and lighting of a district of the city to a board which had no direct relation with the civic authority was objectionable and likely to lead to trouble.

The most objectionable feature of this arrangement was removed by an Act passed the next year which provided, amongst other things, for the regular policing of the city. The inhabitants of Rutland Square proposed to petition Parliament against being included among those to be taxed for this purpose by the Act, but better counsels prevailed, the petition was not presented, and the whole city was taxed uniformly for the purpose of establishing an efficient police force. Section 23 of this Act freed the inhabitants of Rutland Square from their obligations with regard to the watch which had been imposed in the previous year.[1] The tax for lighting was calculated to produce a sum of £140 7*s.* 6*d.* a year, but as the cost of

[1] 26 Geo. III, Cap. 24, 1786.

lighting the seventy-one lamps round the square was £120 14*s.* 0*d.*, only a sum of £19 13*s.* 6*d.* was left to assist the Hospital funds. The benefit of having the square properly lighted was, however, considerable, and greatly lessened the difficulty of the Governors in the management of the entertainments in the Rotunda and the Garden.

The most important benefit which the Hospital was to derive from the Act of 1785 was undoubtedly the income from the license imposed on the private sedan chairs. It was estimated that there were at the time two hundred and thirty such chairs in Dublin, and the Governors expected that at least one hundred and eighty of these would pay duty to the Hospital. Were this estimate correct a sum of a little over three hundred pounds might be expected from this source. This estimate was fairly accurate, for we find that in the six years, 1786–1791 inclusive, a sum of £2221 11*s.* 8*d.* was received by the Hospital. Much of the success of this source of income must be attributed to the energy of the Governors in pressing the claims of the Hospital on those whose position and wealth enabled them to be of assistance.

As bound by the Statute, the Governors published a list of the holders of licenses for sedan chairs, but they did not rest satisfied by merely fulfilling this statutory obligation, for they published with this list an appeal to the owners of the chairs begging of them to look on the tax paid for their licenses as contributions to the charity, and expressed the humble and earnest hope "that it may appear reasonable for ladies in affluence to contribute by this Mode, to the assistance of their own sex under the peculiar circumstances of the charity; and that humanity and generosity will prevent individuals from vacating their licenses on account of this additional charge," for "every general regulation must unavoidably be considered as a private hardship."[1]

The Governors decided also to print a volume containing various papers dealing with the position and affairs of the Hospital, a copy of which should be presented to each of the Governors and to each of the proprietors of the fifty-eight houses in Rutland Square. This volume, "bound in leather and lettered," has now become scarce, but is of great value not only for the information it contains about the Hospital, but for many interesting details concerning the history of the city. It contains the appeal "To the Proprietors of the Licensed Sedan Chairs," followed by an alphabetical list of the two hundred and thirty names and addresses of these proprietors. This list also contains the number of the license and the date on which it was first taken out. This is followed by statements of the accounts of the Hospital in

[1] 'An Account,' p. 1.

tabular form, including an abstract for the ten years ending December 31st, 1784, an estimate of future liabilities, and the "Registry" of the Hospital from the time it was first opened. Then followed a letter to the residents in the square in which the Governors pointed out their liability for the various sums collected as taxes, and urge that it is to the mutual advantage both of the charity and the taxpayers that these sums should be expended in the best way possible. The Governors expressed the opinion that the more the residents know of the charity the more they will be inclined to support it, and it was in consequence of this that they issued to them this volume of tracts explaining its position. Then followed extracts from the various Acts of Parliament which dealt with the duties of the Governors and the liability of those who were to be taxed, together with a statement of the liability of each resident, and the proposed method of expending the funds so raised. The charter of the Hospital is printed in full, followed by the by-laws, drawn up in accordance with the Act of 1785, and under the sanction of the Lord Chancellor and the three chief judges of His Majesty's High Court. The form of "a Presentment & Letter for the Maintenance & instruction of Female Pupils in the Lying-in Hospital, Dublin," was also given, drawn up in accordance with Section 11 of the Act. A list of the forty ladies and sixty gentlemen, original subscribers of one thousand guineas toward building additional rooms to the Rotunda, as well as an engraved plan of the proposed new buildings, were added to the work. The production of this volume must have involved considerable expense, but of its value there can be no doubt, and we hope that it had the desired effect of stimulating the interest of those to whom it was presented in the affairs of the Hospital. Another volume, similar, though less elaborate, was issued in 1787. This, duodecimo in size, contained some additional matter, and was illustrated by engravings of the coats of arms of those who were benefactors to the Hospital, as well as by six tickets of admission to the public assemblies in the new rooms.

One of the first uses which the Governors made of the powers conferred on them by the Act of 1785, was to put in force Section 7 and raise on the sedan chair tax a mortgage of £1000 from Messrs. La Touche. The deed for this was signed on August 23rd, 1785. On January 3rd of the following year this deed was cancelled and a loan of £4000 was substituted, which was supplemented on August 18th, 1787, by an additional loan of £1000, bringing the indebtedness of the Governors up to £5000, the full amount permitted by the Act. On this loan they had to pay £300 a year interest. The money thus raised was mainly used in paying for the work done on the new rooms,

but it was far from sufficient for the purpose, and for some time the Governors were doubtful if they would be able to complete the building. The work, however, was persisted in, and though the Governors were at times hard pressed to find money to pay their bills, they do not seem in any way to have curtailed the original plans or to have diminished the efficiency of the Hospital.

The Governors also made strenuous efforts to collect the outstanding subscriptions, and offered the subscribers to compound the debts at one third of the total amount due. In this effort they were not very successful and only £185 10*s*. 3½*d*. was received, which sum is entered in the accounts for the year 1786. In accordance with the Act a full statement of the arrears was laid before Parliament on February 15th, 1786, and is printed in the Journals of the House.[1] These accounts were referred to a committee for consideration, and on April 11th, 1786, that Committee reported to the House that there was a sum of £3730 due to the Hospital on foot of unpaid subscriptions, but as these subscriptions were voluntary they were not recoverable by law.[2] One of the chief delinquents was the Corporation of Dublin, from whom at the opening of the Hospital a promise had been received to erect and maintain eight beds, but that body never seems to have been in a position to discharge the liability thus incurred. The Earl of Kerry, the Earl of Glandore, the Rev. Dr. Domville, Thomas Tenison and the Earl of Mornington were among the other debtors.

In spite of these various efforts on the part of the Governors things were far from satisfactory and there was urgent need of more money, not only to carry on the work of the Hospital, but to finish the new buildings. This undertaking had proved much more expensive that had been anticipated, and several times the work had to be stopped for want of money to pay the workmen. The money from the sedan chair tax was collected with great difficulty and was often in arrear. As early as December, 1786, complaints were made that the officers of the Foundling Hospital did not forward the accounts regularly, and in February of the following year a petition was presented to Parliament asking for help. As a result of this petition an Act was passed in that year transferring the collection of the tax to the Commissioners of Police, and enforcing as a fine the payment of one year's duty on all those who applied to have a chair licensed after the 24th day of June.

[1] 'Parliamentary Accounts,' Bundle 31, No. 114.

[2] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xii, p. 140.

[3] 27 Geo. III, Cap. 38, Sec. iv and v, 1787.

This, however, was not sufficient, and a further petition was presented the next year. This petition was referred to a Committee, which reported that there was a sum of close on £10,000 due for building and that nearly £3000 more were needed to finish the work. Beside this there was a mortgage of £5000 on the chair tax, which reduced the income from that source to about £140 per annum. Frederick Trench, one of the Governors of the Hospital, was examined by the Committee and stated that if the private annual benefactions were continued and collected, and the Public Rooms free from incumbrance, completed and reasonably productive, there was ample revenue for the hospital.[1] He further stated that the Governors were not then applying for an actual grant from Parliament, but were anxious to give up the yearly income of £440 from the chair tax for a capital sum of which the £440 would be interest at 4 per cent. If this £11,000 were granted the Governors could free themselves from debt, finish their buildings, and maintain the Hospital on its ordinary revenue. The Committee recommended Parliament to adopt this course. Such a scheme would, no doubt, have suited the Governors, but Parliament did not see its way to adopt it, nor did it grant the petition presented on April 16th, 1789, asking for an equivalent sum at 3½ per cent.

In 1790 the Governors again petitioned Parliament on this matter, and also presented a petition to the Lord Lieutenant. The sedan chair tax then stood at £468 a year, and in that year a section was introduced into an Act permitting the Governors to issue debentures of £50 each, at 5 per cent., to the amount of £4000, which sum was to be used in finishing the buildings.[2] At their meeting on February 27th, 1790, the Governors resolved that this section had been added to the Act by an official mistake, and "declared the fixed intention of this Board never to make use of the powers therein contained."[3] The clause was repealed in the following year in an "Act for revising and continuing several temporary Statutes."[4]

In 1790 an important Act was passed, in which, though the Hospital was not mentioned specifically by name, substantial privileges were given to the Governors. This "*Act for enabling Trustees of Charitable Foundations to promote the Purposes and extend the Benefit of the Same*,"[5] granted to

[1] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xii, p. dccxxxii.
[2] 30 Geo. III, Cap. 27, Sec. III.
[3] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 491.
[4] 31, Geo. III, Cap. 44, Sec. IV.
[5] 30 Geo. III, Cap. 36.

the trustees of any charity, being a body corporate, and entitled to duties for the support thereof on the credit of which not less than £5000 had been borrowed, to raise as loan, by debentures at 4 per cent., any sum the interest on which at 4 per cent. would not exceed the net annual produce of the said duties. This power was only given to those corporations who had already borrowed sums of one £5000 at a rate of interest higher than 4 per cent., and such sum was to be paid off out of the first money so raised. This Act was not exactly what the Governors wished for, but still it satisfied their essential requirements by giving them a capital sum sufficient for their needs, and provided the duty on the chairs remained at least as high as it then was the Hospital would be as well off as if the tax had been surrendered; if the proceeds of the duty increased the Hospital would be the gainer.

The Governors did not delay in making use of the power thus conferred on them, and at their meeting on April 7th, 1790,[1] they directed the Treasurer and Deputy-Treasurer to issue debentures to the amount of £11,000, and in the accounts for that year is the entry "received from Mr. Shannon for 110 debentures of £100 each, issued pursuant to Act of Parliament, £11,000."[2] In the same account there is the entry of the £5000 paid to Messrs. La Touche in discharge of the mortgage raised on the sedan chair tax. Sums amounting to £5577 9*s.* 4*d.* were paid to the architect for the new buildings. In spite of this the Governors ended the year with a balance loss of £196 13*s.* 3¾*d.*, and in the following year further payments to the amount of £2400 were made to the architect, to meet which the Treasurer advanced the Hospital the sum of £1000.

Thus after a long and arduous struggle the Governors had succeeded, not indeed in adding much to their immediate income, but in providing the Hospital with a set of buildings which were not only of considerable value in themselves, but which for years to come were to prove a source of constant income. There was one other source of income during this period to which reference must be made—the Charity Sermons. On April 6th, 1788, the Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan preached in St. Peter's Church on behalf of the Hospital, and the collection taken up after the sermon amounted to £526, of which twenty guineas was given to the parochial poor. This, says the 'Dublin Chronicle,'[3] was "a greater sum than was ever collected at a charity sermon at any one time in this city." It is also recorded in the same

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 494.

[2] 'Parliamentary Accounts,' Bundle 31, No. 118.

[3] April 8th, 1788.

paper that Kirwan's last four sermons had produced a sum of over £1200 for charity. Later on the Hospital again benefited by the advocacy of this eloquent divine, for on March 16th, 1800, he preached for the Hospital in St. Peter's Church, and the collection on that occasion amounted to £703.[1]

[1] 'Hibernian Journal,' March 17th, 1800.

CHAPTER XI

THE MASTERSHIP OF JOSEPH CLARKE

Perhaps the most important event in the medical history of the Hospital since its foundation was the nomination by Rock, on March 28th, 1782, of Joseph Clarke as his assistant. The Masters previous to Clarke have left us practically nothing by which we can judge of their medical work. Ould's 'Midwifery' was written while he was a young man entering on practice, and was published three years before the hospital in George's Lane was opened. Neither Collum nor Rock have left us any medical writings, Jebb's book contains little information, and MacBride, who lectured in the Hospital, wrote on physiology and medicine rather than on obstetrics. In the case of Clarke, however, we have several interesting papers from his pen dealing with subjects connected with obstetrics and diseases of infants.

Joseph Clarke was born in the parish of Desertlin, in county Londonderry, on April 8th, 1758. His father, James Clarke, was a farmer, and educated his son in the local Grammar School, and subsequently under the tuition of Samuel Kearns, an ex-Scholar of Trinity College, who held a curacy in the neighbourhood. In the winter of 1775 and 1776 young Clarke studied in Glasgow, and in the following year entered the Medical School of the University of Edinburgh. There for three years he worked regularly, and in September, 1779, graduated as a Doctor of Medicine, reading a thesis entitled 'De putridine in typho coercenda.' This graduation, he tells us, was effected with great ease to himself and some reputation. Having finished his studies in Edinburgh he came to Dublin on a visit to his grand-uncle, Dr. George Maconchy, who for many years had a large obstetric practice in the city. After some three months spent in Dublin, Clarke determined to return to Londonderry and engage in private practice there; but just then he received an offer of acting as companion to a son of Mr. N. L. Rowley, who was going abroad for his health. This offer he at once accepted, and started for Switzerland on March 3rd, 1780. He spent the summer in Lausanne, but in

October was compelled to return to London on account of a change for the worse in the health of his patient. He remained in London until Mr. Rowley's death in May, and during this time attended William Hunter's lectures on midwifery. After Mr. Rowley's death Clarke returned to Dublin, and found that his grand-uncle, Dr. Maconchy, had died shortly before. Various friends, George Cleghorn, Professor of Anatomy in Trinity College, among the number, strongly urged young Clarke to stay in Dublin and take up Dr. Maconchy's practice. Writing of Cleghorn, Clarke tells us that "no man knew Dublin better and few could so readily direct a professional man as to the manner by which its inhabitants were to be pleased." With such an adviser we need not wonder that Clarke decided to stay in Dublin, and on July 11, 1781, he entered the Lying-in Hospital as a pupil of Dr. Rock, and two years later, on March 28th, 1783, was appointed his assistant. His total fortune at this time was £285, out of which he paid Rock one hundred guineas as pupil and a similar sum on becoming assistant.

At first Clarke does not seem to have taken his duties as assistant very seriously, for three months after his appointment he left Ireland for the Continent, again in medical charge of a patient. How long he proposed to stay away we do not know, but he tells us that his patient, being in love with a young lady in Ireland, contrived to shorten his absence, and by September 14th, 1783, Clarke was back again at the Hospital. This trip was, however, important, for while away Clarke took the opportunity of visiting several of the London and Continental hospitals, and thus gathered information of which later he made good use. He also saved his allowance of £240, which was a welcome addition to his small capital.

In the year 1783, on the death of William Cleghorn, who two years previously had been elected Lecturer in Anatomy and Anatomist jointly with his uncle George Cleghorn in Trinity College, Clarke was appointed assistant to the Lecturer in Anatomy, and for the next four or five years was practically in charge of that department.[1] Though Cleghorn delivered some lectures, the duty of directing the dissections and doing most of the teaching fell to Clarke.[2] While this was no doubt beneficial to the students from the point of view of instruction, it could hardly fail to be detrimental to the Hospital. The idea of the chief demonstrator in an anatomical department being at the same time medical officer in a lying-in hospital is one which to us in the present day seems fraught with the gravest danger: how much more so would it have been

[1] 'Kirkpatrick,' p. 138.

[2] 'Collins Memoir,' p. 17.

under the conditions of anatomical teaching one hundred and thirty years ago? As we shall see later, the Hospital reaped its reward.

One of the most remarkable features about the returns of the Hospital during the early years of its existence was the high death-rate among the children born there. From the time the Hospital was opened in 1757 to the end of 1782 there had been 17,650 children born, of whom 815 were stillborn, and 2914 died before they left the Hospital, or almost one in six of those born alive. In the year 1782, of a total of 1007 children born, 57 were stillborn, and 127 died subsequently. The percentage mortality in that year was slightly better than the average, but still since one in 7·7 of the children born alive died, it was anything but satisfactory. The great majority of these children, nineteen out of twenty, it is said, died of what was called "the nine day fits," a complaint of which the medical treatment was generally admitted to be useless.

This condition of affairs at once attracted the attention of Clarke, and when he found himself unable to cure the disease, he set about looking for a means of preventing it. One of the first things he observed was that the rate of mortality among the children in the new Hospital was almost double what it had been in the old house in George's Lane: there only one in 13·6 of those born alive died, in spite of the fact that they then remained a considerably longer time in the Hospital than had been the custom in recent years. When Clarke went abroad in 1783 he directed special attention to the investigation of the infant mortality in the various hospitals he visited, both in London and on the Continent of Europe, and found, he tells us, that the death-rate in the Dublin hospital was considerably higher than the average elsewhere.

As a result of this investigation Clarke came to the conclusion that the high death-rate in the Dublin hospital was largely, if not altogether, due to its faulty ventilation, a conclusion which may have been suggested to him by the works of Howard and White. John Howard, the philanthropist, visited the Dublin hospitals in 1783, and at the time was carrying on a vigorous campaign in favour of fresh air and cleanliness, a campaign of which in subsequent visits he notes the success.[1] Charles White, the great obstetrician of Manchester, was at the time, too, advocating the introduction of fresh air and cleanliness into the lying-in room, and in his 'Treatise on the Management of Pregnant and Lying-in Women' he says, "the chamber door and even the window, if the weather be warm, should be open every day. There should be no board or other contrivance to stop the chimney, on the contrary it should be quite

[1] 'Howard,' p. 209; 'Howard Works,' vol. ii, p. 82.

THE SOUTH FRONT OF THE HOSPITAL, LOOKING WEST.

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open that it may act as a ventilator."[1] With two such advocates pressing the claims of fresh air and cleanliness we need not wonder that Clarke was influenced, and shortly after he left Dublin he addressed a communication on the subject to the Governors of the Hospital through Dr. Hutcheson, the consulting physician. This letter has not been preserved, but we can gather the purport of it from Hutcheson's reply, and from the paper which Clarke read to the Royal Irish Academy some six years later.[2] In this paper Clarke stated the facts as he found them, admitted his inability to avert a fatal issue when once the children were attacked, and recommended a more efficient ventilation of the Hospital as a preventive measure.

The plan recommended by Clarke was very simple. He suggested that three holes, each an inch in diameter, should be bored through the upper part of the frame of every window; that each door opening from the wards into the galleries should be perforated in its upper part by sixteen holes also each an inch in diameter, and that openings, twenty-four by six inches, should be made in the ceiling of every ward.[3] Subsequently these openings in the ceiling were replaced by six inch air-pipes which passed directly to the roof of the building, where there were several louvered windows by which a free communication was established with the open air.

Hutcheson submitted Clarke's views to his colleagues, the Master, and Samuel Croker-King, the consulting surgeon, and the three of them held several meetings, "in order to have some digested plan to lay before the Board" of Governors.[4] The matter was at once taken up by the Governors, and it is significant that in the minutes[5] of the meeting of December 3rd, 1783, there is an order that the expense of cleaning the sewers be paid. In the following February the Governors ordered that a conveyance be made from the window of the upper corridor for the more frequent emptying of buckets, etc., according to the estimates of Richard Johnston, and that a few feet of ceiling of each ward be opened and grated between the rafters for the passage of foul air.[6] At the same time it was arranged to engage a servant at the wages of the other maids of the house to sleep in and attend the patients of the relieving ward, which was to be put in constant use.

These alterations were at once attended with success, and in the four

[1] 'White,' p. 132.
[2] 'Clarke,' 3.
[3] 'Collins,' p. 86.
[4] 'Collins Memoir,' p. 19.
[5] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 388.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 392.

years, 1783–1786 inclusive, only one in 15·2 of the children born alive died in the Hospital, while in the year 1786, for the first time in the history of the Hospital, the number of those stillborn (101) exceeded the number (51) of those who died in Hospital subsequent to birth. On March 30th, 1786, when Clarke resigned his post as assistant, the Governors passed a special resolution of thanks to him for his general attention to the interests of the Hospital, "but particularly for his having suggested measures, the execution of which has been productive of the most salutary consequences in lowering the mortality of children, as appears by the Registry kept by our Secretary and by the report of the Master."[1] While assistant master, on April 11th, 1785, Clarke had been admitted a Licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and just after leaving the Hospital he married, on April 7th, 1786, Isabella Cleghorn, niece of the Professor, with whom he tell us he "got a fortune of fifteen hundred pounds."[2]

When Henry Rock, the Master, died, Dr. Kelly, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Halahan and Mr. Costelloe all offered to take charge of the Hospital till a new Master was appointed, but the Governors decided on August 4th, 1786, that the management should remain in the hands of the assistants, one of whom was to reside constantly in the Hospital, and that they were to be assisted by the medical governors. On November 3rd, at the stated meeting, Dr. Kelly, Sir Henry Jebb and Dr. Clarke were put forward as candidates for the vacant mastership. Kelly received five votes, Jebb seven votes and Clarke thirteen votes, and Dr. Clarke was therefore declared Master of the Hospital.[3]

In connection with this election an interesting letter has been preserved from Dr. Cleghorn in answer to one from Clarke asking him to use his influence with some of the Governors. Cleghorn writes, "My stomach revolts against the usual mode of extracting promises and engaging votes before the Governors can be sufficiently apprized of the merits of the candidates. It is founded on a supposition that all men are actuated by selfish motives, and that they never consider whether their friend be fit for the place he wishes for provided the place be fit for him. If you gain the election I hope it will be by means fair and honourable, I would rather you had lost it than that any others had been employed. . . . Read the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, and reflect on the vanity of human fears and wishes."[4]

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 428.
[2] 'Collins Memoir,' p. 12.
[3] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 443.
[4] 'Collins Memoir,' p. 23.

When Clarke took up his duties as Master of the Hospital he had as assistants John Ford and Thomas Evory. The former had been his colleague as assistant, and the latter had succeeded him in office. One of the most pressing needs he found was the provision for the greatly increased number of patients seeking admission to the Hospital. In 1780, the last year of Jebb's Mastership, 960 women had been admitted, and in 1786 the number had risen to 1396. This increase had been met in three ways, all of which were open to considerable objection. The wards had been considerably overcrowded, the patients were dismissed from hospital seven days after their confinement, instead of a fortnight as was previously the custom, and in many instances the patients were sleeping two in a bed. It will be remembered that in Mosse's original scheme for the Hospital he had laid down the principle "that each woman should be provided with a decent bed for herself." This salutary rule was now abandoned, and in the address which the Governors sent to the proprietors of the licensed sedan chairs in 1785, they stated that "sixteen beds have for some months been occupied by double patients."[1] Such a state of affairs was calculated to do serious injury to the efficiency of the Hospital.

On December 4th, 1786, the Governors requested the Medical Committee to signify in writing the most eligible method of increasing the number of beds in the hospital. We are not told what was the method proposed, but on February 2nd, 1787, the Master's estimate for new beds was accepted, and on April 7th it was ordered that bedding and necessaries be provided for the new wards.[2] The difficulty was not, however, to be disposed of so easily, and all through the period of Clarke's mastership it caused much trouble to the members of the Board, harassed as they were by their slender revenue. Some help came in February, 1789, when, at the meeting of the Board on the 21st of that month, it was announced, "that the Earl of Bective, and James Somerville, Esq., and his Grace the Archbishop of Cashel (as Trustees for the charitable disposition of a sum of £3,000, part of the effects of William Raphson, Esq., deceased), were disposed to endow a ward therewith and to vest the said sum in the Governors of the Hospital."[3] The Governors gladly accepted the trust and decided "that one of the unoccupied rooms, adjoining the Chapel, being a room of Parade, ought to be applied to the real and effectual use of the poor, and that such steps be taken in laying out the same as may prevent any inconveniences to such persons as are pleased to frequent

[1] 'An Account,' p. 1.
[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 451.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 473.

the Chapel of said Hospital." It was also ordered "that a proper tablet and inscription be prepared for the said intended new ward and affixed on the inside thereof." The money was paid on March 23rd, 1789, and it was ordered "that the sum be vested, as soon as may be, in ground rents in the city of Dublin." In the following June the architect was directed to furnish estimates for the "fitting up of Raphson's Ward and that bedding etc., be immediately put in hands."

In the next year further accommodation was found necessary and a Committee was appointed to draw up a plan to meet the need. The report of this Committee was presented to the Board on February 27th, 1790, and adopted. It was decided to make the chaplain a non-resident officer, and to recompense him by an annual salary of £110 a year, instead of the salary of £54 a year, which at the time he received, in addition to an allowance of rooms and £10 a year for coals. The matron was to move into the chaplain's rooms and the housekeeper into those of the matron. The pupils were to be accommodated in the Board room, and the rooms formerly occupied by the pupils and the housekeeper were to be converted into a ward with twelve new beds. The meetings of the Board were to be held in the "anti-Chapel."

Later on a scheme was brought forward to convert the chapel into wards for the further extension of the Hospital. The number of people living in the neighbourhood of the Hospital had increased very greatly in the previous twenty years, and the church accommodation was limited. The receipts from the Hospital Chapel formed an important item of the revenue, and the Governors seemed to think that if they built a larger Chapel, detached from the Hospital, they might greatly increase this revenue as well as make more room for patients in the main building. On November 5th, 1790, a letter was written, by direction of the Board, to the Chapter of Christ Church Cathedral,[1] stating that it was intended to erect this new chapel, which would also serve as a parochial Church for the several streets and new buildings not at present included in the parishes of St. Thomas's and St. Mary's. The Governors stated that the plan had the approval of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the support of the principal inhabitants of the intended district, and they further stated that the plan would certainly be carried into effect in the ensuing winter.

In the previous March the Governors had petitioned Parliament on the subject, urging the evil effects of overcrowding in the Hospital as a reason for the change, and stating they could "see no mode of guarding against this

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 497.

THE BOARD ROOM, SHOWING PORTRAIT OF MOSSE.

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melancholy, interesting and alarming situation but by converting their Chapel and anti-apartments contiguous thereto, and connected therewith, into accommodation for the poor, and erecting a chapel elsewhere in a vacant and convenient situation."[1] This petition was supported by another from various ladies in the district asking for the formation of a new parish, with the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital as perpetual rector under the Archbishop, and the provision of a suitable clergyman. These petitions were referred to a Committee of the House, but no report appears to have been presented and nothing more was done at the time.

On February 13th, 1792, the Governors presented a further petition asking for permission to purchase, under valuation by the Wide Street Commissioners, a certain lot of ground on the angle of Granby Row and Great Britain Street. They also asked for permission to raise money by debentures in order to effect this purchase.[2] The petition was granted, the Governors urging that if this land was built on, it would be a detriment to the Hospital, and that they required it for the purpose of erecting an infirmary and a new chapel so that the old chapel might be converted into wards. In an Act passed in that year entitled, "*An Act for Granting the several Sums therein mentioned, and for certain pious and charitable purposes*,"[3] this permission was given, and subsequently the land was valued by the Commissioners. The award of this valuation was before the Board on January 18th, 1794, when it was found that the sum, £7417 6*s*. 8*d*., was "out of any possibility of purchase," and for the time the project was abandoned. On August 16th, 1793, Royal assent was given to "*An Act for Making and Constituting a new parish by the name of the Parish of St. George, on the ground adjoining the City of Dublin therein described, and for erecting and building a Parish Church therein*."[4] This seems to have finally determined the Governors to give up their scheme, and the beautiful chapel of the Hospital, planned with such care by Mosse, was preserved.

On August 5th, 1791, it was reported to the Board that a sum of £500 had been given to the Hospital by Captain Thomas Preston as a donation from a person who desired to remain anonymous. On February 3rd, 1792, this Captain Preston directed a long letter to the Governors stating that he had deposited in the hands of his friend Alexander Jaffray, one of the Governors, a further sum of £500 to be paid to the Hospital if the Governors within one

[1] 'House of Commons Journals,' vol. xiii, p. 218.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xv, p. 43.
[3] 32 Geo. III, Cap. vi, Secs. 3, 4 and 5, 1792.
[4] 33 Geo. III, Cap. liii, 1793.

year would undertake to fit up and maintain a ward containing eight beds.[1] Captain Preston died within a few days of sending this letter, but the Governors at once decided to fit up a new ward in the eastern ante-chapel. This was done, and on May 22nd, 1792, the Governors passed the following resolution: "The Governors in Board assembled, having inspected the new ward, formed by the expressed direction of the late Thomas Preston, Esq., are unanimously of opinion that the same is executed fully to the intent and object of that most humane and respectable person. And they do hereby direct that the same be forthwith applied to the use of the public, and they do hereby, for themselves and their successors for ever, engage to maintain and uphold said eight beds pursuant to the desire of the said Thomas Preston, deceased."[2] These various additions to the accommodation seem to have relieved the congestion, and schemes for new buildings were for the time abandoned.

During the seven years that Clarke was Master (1786–1793) the number of women delivered in the Hospital reached 10,787, and of these 124 died, while of the 10,874 children born 580 were stillborn and 421 died in hospital subsequent to birth.

When we compare these figures with the returns of the Hospital during the previous years of its existence, beside the increase in the amount of the work done, three things obtrude themselves on our notice. The following table will make the comparison clear:

Date.	Total delivered.	Total born.	Women died.	Children died.	Still-born.
December 8th, 1757, to December 31st, 1786	22,440	22,812	246—1·09 %	3219—14·84 %	1131—4·95 %
January 1st, 1787, to December 31st, 1793	10,787	10,874	124—1·17 %	421—4·98 %	580—5·33 %

The increase in the percentage mortality of the women and in the cases of stillbirth are at once remarkable, but by far the most striking feature is the reduction in the number of deaths of children born alive, from 14·84 per cent. to 4·98 per cent. Clarke always attributed this reduction in the infant

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 506.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 514.

mortality to the improvements he had effected in the ventilation of the Hospital, and he takes no small credit to himself for this result of his work. The increase in the number of stillbirths and the number of women who died in Hospital are not so satisfactory.

In 1817, many years after he had left the Hospital, Clarke published a very full report of the work done there during his mastership, founded on notes and tables made by himself and his assistants.[1] To this, the first medical report of the Hospital, one naturally turns in seeking an explanation of the results indicated above. Clarke was strongly opposed to the use of the forceps, and states they "were used in fourteen cases only in our hospital and in some of these cases I yielded my own opinion to the sanguine expectations of my assistants." He estimates, as a result of his experience, that "a fair opportunity of applying forceps with good effect will not occur to a rational practitioner in one in a thousand cases." It is perhaps not surprising that one who held these views should lose a number of children, but Clarke appears to have been more concerned for the life of the mothers, and avoided, as far as possible, any interference till the death of the child made the use of the perforator, blunt hook, or crotchet permissible.

The increase in the percentage mortality of the women was most unfortunate, and was attributed by Clarke to an outbreak of puerperal fever which occurred in the Hospital in 1787 and 1788. The building was then greatly overcrowded, a fact which no doubt largely contributed to the result, but we must remember that at the time Clarke was conducting the anatomical department of the School of Physic in Trinity College, and was in daily attendance there, demonstrating and dissecting. That his results were not worse is probably due to his objection to operative midwifery, and his avoidance of all forms of active interference till actually driven to it. In this report we have the first clear description of the Rotunda method of managing the third stage of labour, a method which he says he had been for some years in the habit of practising.[2]

In 1791 Clarke published, in the 'Edinburgh Medical Commentaries,'[3] a paper in which he discussed the epidemics of puerperal fever which had done so much damage in the Hospital in 1787 and 1788. In this paper he gives a very full description of the previous outbreaks of the disease, the first of which occurred in 1767, when in five months sixteen women died out of the

[1] 'Clarke Report.'
[2] *Ibid.*,' p. 369.
[3] 'Clarke Papers,' 1.

360 delivered in the Hospital. The second outbreak was in March, April, and May, 1774, when thirteen women died, and after this the disease was unknown in the Hospital till March 17th, 1787, when within a month there were eleven cases and seven deaths. In November of the following year there was another outbreak which lasted for three months, and during that period fourteen died.

Clarke attributed the disease to a local infection in the wards. He tells us that "the attic story of our hospital on which all our patients are delivered is separated into four great divisions each consisting of a great ward and two small ones. The former contain seven and the latter two beds each. To each division a maid servant and a nurse-tender are allotted. One of these divisions did not lose a single patient by the puerperal fever, whereas the mortality among the other three was nearly equal." Further, he states that he was able to stop the epidemic on each occasion by a thorough cleansing and disinfection of the wards and bedding. At the outbreak of the second epidemic he suspected the beds, but doubted that this could be the source of infection as they had been scoured a few months before. He gives John Howard the credit of having suggested the use of the "relieving ward," which he states he found most serviceable in enabling the wards to be cleaned regularly. He has little to suggest in the way of treatment, but recommends the plan advocated by Dr. Foster, a former assistant master—the free use of saline purgatives.

Thus Clarke fought these outbreaks of sickness by every means that he knew of, and carried on a vigorous campaign of cleanliness and reform. On April 11th, 1787, he obtained the permission of the Board to have a general cleaning of the wards, and in order to permit of this being thoroughly done, he was granted permission to have the coffee room in Granby Row fitted up for the temporary reception of the patients.[1] A month later more or less extensive alterations and repairs were sanctioned, and Howard, when he visited the Hospital in that year, says he found the wards quiet and clean. After his next visit in 1788 he was able to say, "I found the testers removed, the furniture new, and the greatest attention paid to the patients."[2] The "testers" were the wooden covers over the beds from which the curtains hung. On May 22nd, 1788, the Board decided to advertise for tenders for washing the linen of the Hospital, the use of the laundry to be given for that purpose; on the same day the Governors ordered that presses were to be

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 452.

[2] Howard, 'Works,' vol. ii, p. 82.

fixed in the cupola for the foul linen of the house. All these orders were efforts at increased cleanliness.

In the minutes of the Board for May 3rd, 1793, there is an interesting entry, which throws a curious light on the treatment of the patients by the officers of the house, and helps one to understand the difficulties which had to be overcome in the management of a hospital in the eighteenth century. The minute runs: "Ordered that the housekeeper do not under any pretext whatsoever supply the patients of this house with bad whey, or any other article of bad diet."[1]

There is one other matter of great importance which took its origin in this period of reform—the institution of systematic teaching of the students by the Master. Clarke was the first Master to give regular instruction to students, though the determination that it was to be given was come to before he was appointed. In the By-laws and Ordinances of the Hospital, drawn up pursuant to the powers granted by the Act of 1785, and promulgated by the Board on January 28th, 1786, it was laid down that the Master should each year read a course of lectures on Midwifery, "and that a registry of persons attending the same be regularly kept." At the same time provision was made for the accommodation of pupils, the number of which was not at any time to exceed six.[2]

The twelfth and sixteenth by-laws of the same code regulated the admission of pupils as follows:

"xii. Although we deem it highly advantageous to the Public, that Students in Midwifery should be allowed to profit by the Experience to be derived from the Practice in Hospitals, yet as it is injurious to the Character of this Hospital, and unprecedented in every other, as well as inconsistent with the Peace of Mind, and Safety of the Patients, to be attended by young Men totally ignorant of Midwifery, it is therefore resolved, that no Student shall in future, from the first of November, 1787, be admitted to practice in this Hospital, without producing a Certificate, signed either by a reputable Teacher or Practitioner in Midwifery, by two Fellows of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Dublin, or by the President and two Censors of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, that he is a proper qualified Person to be admitted a Pupil or Student into said Hospital; the Certificate to be approved of by the Board of Governors, and his Name and Time of Admission to be registered."

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 424.

[2] 'An Account' (Bye-Laws and Ordinances), p. 6, Rules xi and xii.

"xvi. That a printed Certificate, signed by the Master, and one of the Assistants, be granted to each Pupil, Male or Female, who shall have served and attended a regular Course in said Hospital, and that a certain Seal shall be affixed thereto by the Register, and an Entry thereof made in the Registry before directed to be kept; and that two Shillings and Sixpence and no more, be demanded for the same."

Collins, in his memoir, says: "To Dr. Clarke, then, the public and medical profession are solely indebted for these regular courses in our Hospital for the instruction of pupils which have proved so singularly beneficial and which must ever signalise him as one of the greatest benefactors of his country."[1] That such language is not altogether justified is evident when we remember that the by-laws were drawn up before Clarke was Master, but the experience which Clarke had gained as a teacher in Trinity College enabled him to carry out these duties with credit to himself and profit to his pupils. We have no record of how many students attended the Hospital before his time, but there is no doubt that there were resident students from an early period, for on January 4th, 1771, the Board "Ordered that Mr. Sproull, a pupil in the hospital, be suspended until the next general Board; he having, without any foundation, raised a report injurious to the character of Mr. Kelly, one of the Assistants." In May following a further order was made, "that Mr. Sproull be removed from the hospital for ever."[2]

At the completion of his term of office on November 1st, 1793, the Board passed a very eulogistic vote of thanks to Clarke for "his correct and exemplary conduct as Master during the preceding seven years," and on February 7th, 1794, he was elected a Governor. After he left the Hospital he devoted himself to a large and increasing private practice, from which he only retired in October, 1829. From January 1st, 1785, till he ceased to practise he had attended in private 3847 patients, of whom only twenty-two had died.[3] In 1792 he was admitted a Licentiate in Midwifery of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and on October 15th, 1807, he was elected an Honorary Fellow. In September of 1834 he left Dublin to attend a meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh, but took ill shortly after his arrival, and died there on Wednesday, September 10th.

Clarke published four papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.'[4] The first, read on December 4th, 1786, treats of the properties

[1] 'Collins Memoirs,' p. 26.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, pp. 217 and 226.

[3] 'Collins Memoirs,' p. 39.

[4] 'Clarke papers.'

of human milk, and in this he controverts the opinions commonly held by medical writers as to its physical and chemical composition. In the second, read on January 6th, 1789, he gives an account of his efforts to reduce the infant mortality in the Hospital, and the success which attended them. In connection with this some dispute arose later, when Dr. Breen, who was assistant master early in the next century, stated in a paper, published in 1836, that Dr. Clarke's opinion that he had so materially diminished the occurrence and consequent mortality of trismus nascentium and puerperal fever by his system of ventilation was a "hobby of that respectable man." He further stated that Clarke's statistics were not reliable, since after his time the patients stayed a much shorter time in hospital than they did before.[1] Collins, however, in the next issue of the journal, had little difficulty in contradicting Breen's conclusions. He showed, by the returns of the Hospital since its foundation, that no matter how long the patients remained under treatment almost all the deaths among the children occurred before the ninth day. This was well within the average time that the women remained in Hospital, even when both they and their children were quite well. If either the mother or child showed any signs of illness they were detained till recovery was complete.[2]

In 1791 Clarke published the paper on puerperal fever in the 'Edinburgh Medical Commentaries,' already alluded to, and on July 6th, 1793, he read a paper to the Royal Irish Academy on the "Causes and Cure of some Diseases of Infancy." On May 1st, 1809, he read a paper to the same Academy on "Bilious Cholic and Convulsions in early Infancy," in which he advocated the use of alternate small doses of calomel and castor oil.

Clarke's only son, James, entered the medical profession, but died on October 5th, 1820, at the early age of thirty-two, from an attack of typhus fever, contracted in discharge of his duty as physician at the Hardwicke fever hospital. Three daughters survived him, one of whom married Robert Collins, afterwards Master of the Hospital.

[1] 'Dublin Journal of Medical Science,' vol. viii, p. 550, 1836.

[2] 'Collins,' p. 90.

CHAPTER XII

THOMAS EVORY AND THOMAS KELLY

When the term of Clarke's Mastership expired on November 1st, 1793, there were five candidates for the vacancy. Two of them, John Halahan and Thomas Kelly, were not, however, put forward for election; of the others Thomas Evory received eighteen votes, Sir Henry Jebb received twelve votes, and Francis Hopkins five votes, "wherefore Dr. Evory was declared Master."

Thomas Evory, the son of a Londonderry apothecary, was born on October 18th, 1758, and having come to Dublin was on August 1st, 1775, bound for five years' apprenticeship to Mr. William Vance, Surgeon to the Meath Hospital. In September, 1782, he graduated M.D. in Edinburgh University, reading a thesis, *De Febre Puerperarum*. On April 20th, 1785, he was elected physician to the Meath Hospital, and on July 11th following was admitted a Licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians. On March 30th, 1786, he was appointed assistant master to the Lying-in Hospital, and continued to hold office till May 1st, 1789. To Thomas Evory and John Ford the care of the Hospital was confided after the death of the Master, Henry Rock, during the interregnum that preceded the appointment of Clarke. It seems curious to us nowadays to think of an assistant master being at the same time one of the visiting physicians to another hospital, but the practice of holding multiple hospital appointments was very common in Dublin till well on in the next century.

On December 4th, 1793, just after his election as Master, Evory resigned his appointment at the Meath, telling the Governors that he found it morally impossible to pay that attention to their charity which both his duty and inclination pointed out.[1] Just a year previously he had been admitted a Licentiate in Midwifery of the King and Queen's College of Physicians.

The period of Evory's mastership is noteworthy for the many changes which took place in the permanent staff of the Hospital. In August, 1784,

[1] 'Ormsby,' p. 100.

THE NORTH FRONT OF THE HOSPITAL AND GARDENS.

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Francis Hutcheson, the Consulting Physician, had died and was succeeded on October 11th by William Harvey, who was physician to Steevens' Hospital, and on St. Luke's Day of that year was elected President of the College of Physicians. It is probable that the better relations which came to exist between that College and the obstetrical practitioners of Dublin is due in some measure to Harvey's appointment as Physician and Governor of the Lying-in Hospital, and in the next year both Ould and Clarke were admitted to the licence of the College. With the appointment of Harvey both the Consulting Physician and the Consulting Surgeon, Samuel Croker-King, were members of the staff of Steevens' Hospital.

The Hospital had been fortunate in its early years in being able to retain for long periods its permanent officers, thus giving a continuity to its work which might otherwise have suffered by the change of Masters every seven years. The first housekeeper, Mrs. Elizabeth Walsh, had been appointed by Mosse when the Hospital was first opened, her predecessor in the old house, Mrs. Miller, being then superannuated on £10 a year. Mrs. Walsh continued to enjoy the confidence of the Board till her death in 1774, receiving as her salary the not very princely sum of £34 a year, and 5*s.* 10*d.* a week "for subsistence."[1] She had under her an under-housekeeper, Mrs. Margaret Cave, appointed at the same time, who received £10 a year. On August 4th, 1769, the Board granted to Mrs. Walsh, in return for her good services, a vote of thanks, furniture for her rooms, and a sum of twenty guineas.[2] On the death of Mrs. Walsh, Mrs. Anne Orr was elected matron at £60 a year for salary and subsistence, while Mrs. Cave was advanced to the dignity of housekeeper with an addition of £5 a year to her salary. Mrs. Cave did not live long to enjoy this promotion, and at her death Mrs. Elizabeth Denniston was elected to fill her place on February 15th, 1775. Both these officers continued to discharge their duties in the Hospital till August 7th, 1795, when on the same day they both tendered their resignations to the Board, stating that in doing so they were actuated by family reasons.

The Board then directed that the offices of matron and housekeeper should be united, and that the new matron should have a salary of £40 a year with diet, coals and candles, and the apartments occupied by the late housekeeper. There were three candidates for the post—Mrs. Jane Rippingham, who was elected, Mrs. Elizabeth Jebb, widow of the late Master, and Mrs. Browne. In appointing a single officer in place of two, the Governors were actuated, no

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 198.

doubt, by economical reasons, but it also made for efficiency and for smoothness in the working of the institution. The duties of the matron were mainly of an administrative kind, and she does not seem to have had any actual part in the care of the patients, such duties being entrusted to the head midwife, who was responsible to the Master. The Master himself controlled the appointment and discharge of the nurses. Mrs. Rippingham was granted an increase of £20 in her salary on February 6th, 1801, and continued in office till her resignation in June, 1805.[1]

Of the other permanent officers the most important was the Registrar. It was provided in the charter that there was to be a Secretary and a Treasurer, and as these officers were named in the charter from among those appointed Governors, it was always the custom for the Board to elect members of their own body to these posts. Ralph Sampson, Esq., was named the first Treasurer, and Edward Stirling Esq., the first Secretary. Sampson tended his resignation of the office on August 4th, 1758, and the Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements was elected his successor.[2] Both Edward Stirling and Nathaniel Clements continued in office till their deaths in 1777, having been re-elected Secretary and Treasurer respectively at the Board meeting on November 1st, 1776. After this the Governors seem to have neglected for some time appointing successors to these offices, but on April 7th, 1790, the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, Deputy Vice-Treasurer, was elected to the post so long held by his father. Clements, however, declined the post, as it involved the signing of the debentures then being issued by the Board, and he felt it would not be correct for him to sign them, "being a person authorised to sign Government Securities"[3]; Frederick Trench was appointed in his place. The office of Secretary was not filled up till March 4th, 1796, when William Bury, Esq., was elected, who on May 3rd, 1799, was succeeded by William Cope, Esq.

These offices were, however, honorary, and the real work was done by the Registrar, a paid officer of the Board. The first to hold this office was a Mr. Murray, who at the opening of the Hospital had as an assistant an undersecretary, Mr. Benjamin Higgins, at a salary of £20, to take the proceedings of the Governors. This Benjamin Higgins had worked with Mosse as a kind of secretary during the promotion of those schemes and lotteries by which the money for the building of the Hospital was provided, and when Murray, the

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 140.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 30.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 495.

first Registrar, died, Higgins was on May 5th, 1760, "appointed to take care of and execute the office of Register,"[1] at a salary of £40 a year. When re-elected at the Charter meeting in the following November he was allowed in addition to his salary the sum of £20 for collecting subscriptions to the Hospital and taking charge of the Gardens, for the security of which he and two sureties were to give their bond for £1000. Four years later he was given an additional £10 a year for taking charge of the money and accounts of the Chapel. The duties of Higgins were thus varied and heavy, but they were discharged with an ability and conscientiousness which made him an invaluable officer. The large volume of minutes, extending from the opening of the Hospital till 1798, is almost entirely in his handwriting, and is a model of neatness and accuracy. In November, 1770, when his work had greatly increased, he was allowed £21 a year for an assistant to be appointed by himself, but in the following year, on his being excused attendance at the concerts in the Rotunda on account of his health, this addition was withdrawn.

The last minutes in the handwriting of Higgins are those of the meeting on February 26th, 1794, after which he seems to have been too ill to attend, and two years later he died. When his death was reported to the Governors at their meeting on February 6th, 1796, they resolved that those of them who were most immediately concerned with the detail of the Hospital should present a petition to the Lord Lieutenant asking for some aid towards the support of the widow.[2] This petition does not seem to have been successful, for on May 14th, 1796, the Governors resolved "that if the funds of this institution shall exceed its annual expenditure the annual sum of £30 sterling be paid to the widow of the said Benjamin Higgins, deceased." They further passed a resolution, the first of the kind on the minutes of the Hospital, expressing appreciation of his services, and decided to "place a tombstone in the Church-yard of Donnybrook over the grave of the said Benjamin Higgins as a lasting testimony of their regret at his loss and of the grateful sense of his unremitting zeal for the institution." Thus, in the same graveyard, near his old master, Bartholomew Mosse, Higgins found a resting-place after his long and arduous services for the Lying-in Hospital. Together they worked for its foundation, together they rest, while the Hospital carries on the noble traditions which their work inspired.

To the industry of Higgins we owe much of our knowledge of the early

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 539.

history of the Hospital, for before his death he wrote its history. That history was never published in full. The manuscript of it was in the possession of Dr. Clarke, and afterwards of Dr. Collins, and the latter lent it to Wilde, who published extracts from it in his memoir of Mosse in the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science' for 1846.[1] Unfortunately this manuscript has now disappeared, and we have to content ourselves with the extracts which Wilde has given us. Should this book of the Rotunda be the means of bringing the manuscript of Higgins to light it will have done a good service for the Hospital.

After the death of Higgins, James Rafferty, who on November 6th, 1789, had succeeded his father as one of the officers of the Rotunda, was on March 4th, 1796, elected Registrar of the Hospital.

While Evory was Master the troubles of the Governors in connection with the entertainments and the new rooms reached a climax. Almost ever since the Gardens were opened there was occasional trouble from the bad behaviour of some of those who patronised them. Thus, on June 8th, 1762, it was reported to the Governors that the evening before "the band of musick was abused and ill-treated in the Garden," and in consequence an advertisement was inserted in the papers saying that if such behaviour occurred again the Governors would publish the names of the offenders and institute prosecutions. In the following year the Governors had again to advertise, this time offering a reward of twenty guineas for the conviction of similar offenders. That the disturbances were not entirely due to the legitimate patrons of the Gardens may be suspected from the minute of June 22nd, 1765, in which it is recorded that the Governors decided that the wall near the coffee-room be "raised and glassed to prevent idle people from climbing over it." Again, in 1770 several riotous persons broke open the doors of the Rotunda one Sunday evening and did much damage to the place.

The troubles were not always due to riotous persons, as we learn from the following interesting minute of June 9th, 1777: "Ordered that no children be admitted into the Gardens, infected with Small-pox, Measles, Kink-cough, or other infectious disorders of which parents and nurses are requested to take notice."[2] The necessity of such a minute gives us some idea of the difficulties which at that time must have beset the path of those in charge of a Lying-in Hospital, and one can imagine the indignation of a Master at the present day should he learn that infectious smallpox patients were frequenting the Hospital Gardens.

[1] Wilde, 'Mosse.'

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 319.

THE SOUTH FRONT OF THE HOSPITAL, LOOKING EAST.

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The real trouble, however, arose, not from the presence of those with "infectious disorders," but from some of the company getting drunk and then disturbing those who remained sober. On June 8th, 1785, the Governors ordered "that no malt or spirituous liquors, wine or cider be sold or supplied to any of the company in the Rotunda by the person who keeps the coffee-room or by any other person," but this prohibition does not seem to have had the desired effect. In February, 1792, and again in April, the trouble had become so acute that the Governors were faced with a serious loss of revenue from the rooms. The chief trouble seems to have been at the Sunday evening promenades, which were one of the most remunerative of the entertainments of the time. The Governors made every effort to put an end to this trouble, and offered a reward of £50 to anyone who would prosecute to a conviction any person guilty of brawling in the rooms.

On April 20th, 1795, the Governors received a letter from the "Society for promoting Religion and Virtue," stating that the promenades had long been considered by the members of that society "as prejudicial to the public morals and objectionable for many reasons," and suggesting that they should be discontinued. The Governors replied that they could not see their way to deprive the Hospital of the considerable revenue derived from these promenades, but would be willing to do so were the Hospital guaranteed an annual grant from Parliament equal to at least half the sum so earned.[1] The Society, however, was not to be put off in this way, and on January 27th, 1798, a special meeting of the Board of the Hospital was called to reconsider the whole matter, at which the Governors came to the following conclusion: "The Board having most seriously considered the changes in the human mind in a period of forty years, whereby matters or usages, which seemed harmless and inoffensive at that period, may become injurious to religion and prejudicial to society at the present—and viewing with extreme concern the general disposition to riot and misbehaviour and judging how exceedingly improper it must be at this moment to collect crowds of people of any description (tho' the temporary existence of their institution may depend on it) have from full conviction and unanimously come to the following resolution — That all species of public entertainment of any kind whatsoever on the Sabbath be forever discontinued at the public rooms."[2]

On May 23rd, 1798, the Irish Rebellion broke out, and on July 4th an offer was made to the Government of the Rotunda and Rooms for a temporary

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. i, p. 531.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 552.

Barracks in "this very alarming crisis." This offer was at once accepted, and till the spring of 1801 the rooms were occupied by troops of the Dublin Command. The Governors calculated that by this offer they sacrificed an income of over £2000 a year, the average yearly profit from the rooms for the seven years 1791–1797 being £2061 7*s.* 9½*d.* The building was not, however, completely unproductive, as on May 3rd, 1793, the Governors had set the vaults under them to the Commissioners of the Revenue for a rent of £200 a year, which continued to be paid for some years afterwards; they also obtained from the Government a sum of £1450 a year as rent for the barracks.[1] When the rooms were given up in 1801, it was found that a considerable outlay was necessary to put them in repair. Lord Tyrawly, the Barrack Master, would, however, only allow a sum of £773 to be paid for that purpose, stating that, considering the very exorbitant rent paid for the use of the rooms, that sum was quite sufficient.[2]

The last few years of the century were times of constant strain on the Hospital, so much so that when the estimates for 1798 were placed before the Board, the Governors felt that it would be necessary to close four wards—a reduction of half the available beds in the Hospital. Before doing this a Committee was appointed to consider the whole matter, and this Committee recommended, as an alternative, that the Governors should defer the payment of interest on the debentures raised for building the new rooms. The Committee found that if three wards were closed it would effect a saving under the head of servants of only £86 a year and of £400 for the diet of the eight hundred patients excluded. Both the Master and the Matron reported that the servants who would be dismissed "have good characters and are humane and tender about the patients," and they suggested that it might be difficult to replace them afterwards.

The interest on the debentures amounted to £440, and in view of this fact the Governors came to the following conclusion: "that it appears to this Board a much less public inconvenience that the holders of Debentures should for a time remain without the half-yearly payment of interest which should take place at Midsummer 1798, than that the poor should be excluded from relief, more especially as there is a provision in the Act which must eventually guarantee the creditors." They determined that this resolution should be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant, President of the Hospital, and that it should also be affixed in the Chapel and cash office of the Hospital. In this

[1] 'Parliamentary Accounts, Charities, Hospitals,' Bundle 32, No. 129.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 28.

way the progress of the Hospital work was saved, and in the seven years of Evory's mastership 11,357 women were delivered in the Hospital, a larger number than under any previous Master, and of this number only 86, or 0·75 per cent., died.

When Thomas Evory resigned the reins of office as Master on November 7th, 1800, he left the Hospital in a better position and with better prospects than he found it, and on February 7th, 1801, he was elected one of the Governors.

On the resignation of Evory, Thomas Kelly and Francis Hopkins were candidates for the vacant Mastership, and the former was elected by seventeen votes to seven. Dr. Kelly began his term of office under auspicious circumstances. The work was growing, and the quality of the work done during his predecessor's term of office compared most favourably with that of those who had gone before him. Kelly was an elderly man when appointed, having been assistant under Collum in 1769. He is stated to have held an M.D. degree, but we have no record of where he graduated.

The increase in the number of patients in the Hospital which had begun in the time of Evory was continued, and in the year 1803 the number of women delivered reached the unprecedented figure of 2028. On April 29th, 1803, the Governors decided to open another ward containing twelve beds, and also another to be known as an "airing or seasoning ward," containing ten beds. For this purpose some new arrangements had to be made in the house. The pupils were again moved, and it was decided "that the residence in the house of one assistant (being the usual establishment) is sufficient for the Institution, and that the two small apartments next the South-west or Britain Street Colonnade, be allotted to him on the entrance floor, or divided in such a manner as might on emergency or for any short period procure accommodation for an extern or second Assistant."[1] From this resolution it is evident that as a rule only one of the assistants was continually resident in the Hospital, but the records give us no indication how their duties were divided.

In 1803 the Governors petitioned the united Parliament for a grant in aid of the Hospital, and received a sum of £2619. In this petition it was calculated that there would be a deficiency on the working of the Hospital during the year of about £1500. Fortune, however, favoured the Hospital, and a successful subscription ball produced an unexpected £740, while an assembly at which Mrs. Siddons assisted produced £316. Some years later

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 72.

an effort was made to discredit the Governors for this error in the estimate, but the Governors themselves drew the attention of the Lord Lieutenant to the error on May 6th, 1803. On July 26th, 1803, the Governors were again asked if they would rent the Rotunda rooms for the purpose of a barrack, but they were obliged reluctantly to refuse, having already set the rooms for a year for concerts at a rent of nearly £1000.

With the crowded state of the house it was to be expected that the death-rate would rise, and in the year 1803, when 2028 women were delivered, 44 died. It was believed that some of these women died as the result of infectious fever introduced into the Hospital by the patients, and investigation of the matter showed that several patients suffering from infectious diseases had been sent to the Hospital from the House of Industry Hospitals. On October 14th, 1803, the Governors directed that a letter be written to the governors of those hospitals asking that the medical officers of the Lying-in Hospital might be allowed to attend such patients at the House of Industry as had need of them.[1] This permission was not granted, and after further correspondence the Governors threatened if more care were not taken in the selection of patients sent that none at all from the House of Industry would be admitted.

The efforts made in this way to cope with the death-rate in the Hospital appear at first sight to have been crowned with brilliant success. In the year 1804, the percentage of deaths fell to 0·83 from 2·16 in the previous year, and in 1805 there was a further decline to 0·54 per cent., this too, in spite of the fact that the number of women admitted continued to increase. There is unfortunately good reason to believe that this improvement was more apparent than real, and though we do not for a moment accuse the Master of cooking his statistics, there is no doubt that he discharged many women from the Hospital within a few days of their confinement, some of whom at the time were sick unto death. This practice led to serious trouble shortly after.

Mrs. Jane Rippingham, who had served the Hospital well as matron since 1798, resigned her post, and on August 21st, 1805, Miss Hincks was unanimously elected in her place.[2] Two months later the matron presented a memorial to the Board stating that she believed it would save trouble if the duties of the officers and servants were accurately defined, and in consequence the Board appointed a Committee to draw up rules. These rules, adopted by the Board at the quarterly meeting in the following November, set out the duties of the

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 104.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 142.

matron and the nurses. The matron was given the control of the housekeeping matters, of the servants, and it was to be her duty, when she judged it necessary, to inspect and report to the Master on the conduct of the midwives. The duty of the midwives was to be confined entirely to regulations respecting the health of the patients under the direction of the Master. Trouble, however, was brewing, for on May 3rd, 1805, Mrs. Swift, a midwife, had been reported to the Board for neglecting to send for the Master or assistants in a serious case, for which dereliction she was censured by the Board. A further report for neglect of duty was made about her on March 1st, 1806, and she was then dismissed. Just after the new regulations were made, the matron complained of the Master, and the Board, after careful investigation, resolved "that the Master has obstructed the Matron in the execution of her duty as prescribed at the Board."[1] This was the first occasion in the history of the Hospital that the Governors had felt called on to censure the conduct of the Master.

After this matters seem to have quieted down again, and when in March, 1806, Mrs. Swift was dismissed, the Board ordered that all the spirits required for the patients and children were to be kept by the matron, and that they were to "be prepared with camphor."[2] Such a regulation, no doubt, saved the funds of the Hospital somewhat, but we doubt if it helped greatly to ensure sobriety among the servants.

The term of office of John Breen, one of the assistant masters, ended on August 3rd, 1806, and in accordance with custom the Master nominated to the Board Mr. Edward Frizell as his successor. It is not recorded what objection there was to Frizell, but the Board, by a majority of three to one, refused the nomination. At the next meeting on September 4th the Master again nominated him, and by a majority of five to four the Board decided to adjourn the question till the quarterly meeting in November. It would seem that it was the medical Governors, Drs. Clarke, Evory, James Cleghorn and Croker-King, who raised the objection, and it is probable that this objection was based on the qualification of the candidate. At the meeting in November Dr. Kelly withdrew Frizell's name, but nominated him again on January 7th, 1807, and "the question being thereupon put it passed in the negative." This would seem to have been a serious reflection on the Master, but at the next meeting on January 27th he proposed Dr. James MacCabe, and "he being duly qualified," was elected.

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 153.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 166.

Just about a year after these proceedings, on April 2nd, 1807, John La Touche, who had succeeded Frederick Trench as Treasurer on November 1st, 1805, sent a letter to the Board, enclosing one from the Rev. Dr. Stopford, making a complaint of the way the patients were dismissed from the Hospital. A Committee of the Governors was at once appointed to investigate this complaint and report on it to the Board. This Committee reported on April 18th, and stated that the charges made against the Master in Dr. Stopford's letter were satisfactorily proved, and that the charges given in by the Matron were generally well founded.[1] The report went on to say that the "Committee have found by the evidence of your present and late assistant that in several instances the master had dismissed patients labouring under disease whose distress they think might have been alleviated by a further residence in the hospital." From a return made by the Registrar it appeared that 86 patients were dismissed on the sixth day of their stay, 29 on the fifth, 14 on the fourth, and one on the third. The Committee also regretted to find "the practice of shake down beds revived," as it was to avoid this that the increased accommodation had been recently made in the Hospital. The report concluded with the following statements, "Your Committee cannot conclude without remarking that they conceive the discharge of patients from your hospital under six days to be hazardous to the most healthy, but in regard to those labouring under diseases it appears to them a practice not only inconsistent with humanity but subversive of the great and noble purposes for which this charity was founded. Your Committee beg leave to add that on the 15th inst., they directed a copy of the evidence submitted to them on oath to be laid before the master to which he has hitherto made no reply."

The Governors directed that this report should be sent to the Master and that he should be asked to submit his observations on it in writing to the Board. On Tuesday, April 21st, a letter was received from the Master in which he contented himself with saying that no inquiry into his conduct should have been held without giving him notice, and that if he had had the opportunity of examining the evidence adduced he had no doubt that he would appear to the Board "perfectly correct and humane" in his conduct as Master. The Governors decided to adjourn the matter till later in the week, when the Master and all the witnesses were to be present so that he might put to them any questions he wished. At this meeting the Master did not attend, but Dr. Cleghorn, the Chairman of the last meeting, read a letter which he had received from him. In this letter Kelly again denied the

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 220.

authority of the Board to enter into any resolutions reflecting on his professional character either as Master or otherwise. The dignity of his situation as Master prevented him, he said, from entering further into the matter, and he suggested that Cleghorn, as Chairman, should put a stop to the proceedings. The Board again adjourned the matter for a week and informed the Master that they would then come to a final decision. On May 1st, 1807, the Master and witnesses attended, and then the Board resolved unanimously—"That it appears to this Board, after the most solemn investigation of the charges against the master, that even on the evidence produced by him in his defence and the cross examination by him of the former witnesses this day, the report of the Committee has been fully justified and the charges against him have been fully proved to the satisfaction of the Board."[1] Kelly at once tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and the duties of the Master of the Hospital were, till the first Friday in November, entrusted to Drs. Harvey, Cleghorn, Clarke, and Evory, "or such persons as they shall appoint in writing." These gentlemen appointed Dr. Samuel Bell Labatt, who had been assistant master when Kelly was appointed, and he held office till the new Master was elected on November 6th, 1807, for which service the Governors then voted him an honorarium of thirty guineas.

It is impossible now to apportion the blame in this unfortunate dispute between the Governors and the Master, a condition of affairs happily unique in the history of the Hospital. The only charge which we definitely know was brought against Kelly was that he dismissed the patients so soon after labour, a course which he may have adopted in the interests of the patients themselves, as well as with the view of obtaining room for the increasing number of those seeking admission. Charles White, of Manchester, in his 'Midwifery' advocated getting patients out of bed as soon as possible after delivery, even on the same day if possible,[2] and White's results were then among the best of the British Isles. There can, however, be no excuse made for the way Kelly treated the Governors. They gave him every opportunity of laying his case before them, of justifying or defending his conduct, but the only use he seems to have made of these opportunities was to make counter-attacks on the Governors and their proceedings. It is significant that Timothy Kirby in his 'Autobiography' says that he entered as a student at the Hospital in 1805 during the time Kelly was Master, but left without taking a certificate,

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 235.
[2] 'White,' p. 134.

"disgusted at what I saw."[1] This may, of course, have been due to mere personal antipathy to the subject, but it suggests that things were not as they should be in the Hospital. The course that Kelly afterwards adopted fully bears out our idea that in the matter he was largely, if not altogether, to blame.

[1] 'Cameron,' p. 381.

A GROUP OF STUDENTS, 1911.

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CHAPTER XIII

HOPKINS AND LABATT

In February of 1803 the Governors, as we have seen, petitioned Parliament for a grant in aid of the funds of the Hospital, and were voted a sum of £2619. So successful was this application that it was repeated each year, and a Parliamentary grant of over £2000 came to be looked on as a normal item of the yearly income. Similar grants were made to some of the other Dublin Hospitals, such as the Lock, Cork Street Fever Hospital, the House of Industry Hospitals, Steevens' and Sir Patrick Dun's Hospitals, and in consequence of the large sums of public money thus distributed the Lord Lieutenant decided that it was his duty to hold an inquiry into the management of the institutions to which they were given. On August 31st, 1808, he appointed John David La Touche, William Disney, and George Renny as a Commission "to ascertain how far the objects of such Establishments are accomplished, and whether any alteration in the present system or practice of managing them is advisable or requisite."[1] The Governors were informed of this Commission at their meeting on September 9th, 1808, and appointed Dr. Clarke, Dr. Cleghorn and the Master as a sub-committee of the Board to meet the Commissioners, and to afford every facility for the inquiry. These officers drew up an admirable statement of the establishment and condition of the Hospital, chiefly, we believe, the work of Dr. Cleghorn. This was submitted to the Commissioners, who printed it in full in their report. Of this statement the Commissioners reported that this "concise and able statement will render it unnecessary to go into further detail regarding this Charity," and further that the bounty of Parliament seems to them in few instances to have been more judiciously bestowed than in support of an institution the funds of which have been diminished by events out of the power of the Governors either to foresee or to remedy.[2] In an appendix to this report a very full statement of the accounts and work of the Hospital was given, from which it appeared that in

[1] 'La Touche Report,' p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

the ten years 1797–1807 there were 19,768 women received into the Hospital, while the chair tax, which had formerly produced over £400 a year, had now fallen on an average of three years to ninety pounds. The importance of this report was considerable, for not only did it afford a complete justification of the management of the institution as carried out by the Governors, but it also ensured the continuance of the Parliamentary grant, which for years to come was to afford such substantial aid to the institution.

In the year following on May 5th, 1809, the Governors proceeded to investigate a very serious charge which had been made against the Hospital. In the 'Freeman's Journal' for April 29th, 1809, an advertisement appeared stating that on the following Sunday a charity sermon would be preached in St. Andrew's Church by the Rev. R. H. Nash, D.D., F.T.C.D., in aid of the funds of the Charitable Society for the Relief of Sick and Indigent Room-keepers. At this sermon it was stated that their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Richmond intended to be present. The preacher in his sermon adopted the unwise course of recommending his object by speaking evil of another charity. He asserted, on the authority of one Samuel Rosborough, that a poor woman in the actual pains of labour had been refused admission to the Lying-in Hospital, and while endeavouring to return to her home had been delivered in the street, where she probably would have died had not a young officer procured her admission to a neighbouring house.

Such a charge brought in such a public manner before the President of the Hospital was very serious, and especially so as the Governors based their claim on Parliament on the fact that none of the poor were refused admission. The Governors summoned before them Mr. Rosborough, the officer Mr. Ireland, and Judith Kenny, the woman of whom it was alleged that she was refused admission. All the facts of the case were investigated on oath, and it was discovered that the woman had been admitted to Hospital, but as she was not in labour she was, at her own request, allowed to return home. She remained at home for some time and was actually attempting to return to the Hospital when prevented from proceeding further by the extremity of her labour.[1] The report of this investigation was submitted to their Graces, and no doubt to the preacher, but no public acknowledgment appears to have been made by him of his mistake. The sermon was evidently a success, for in the 'Freeman's Journal' for May 4th it is stated that the collection amounted to £452 10*s*. 11*d*., and further sums were acknowledged at a subsequent date. The vindication of the Hospital, however, was complete, and the

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 288.

uncharitable remarks of the preacher do not appear to have done it any permanent harm.

The Governors, however, were not to be allowed to pursue their way in peace, for in 1810 Dr. Kelly, the ex-Master, presented a memorial to the King, in which he brought against the Governors in general, and Frederick Trench in particular, charges which reflected not only on their administrative capacity but also on their personal integrity. In this memorial Kelly stated that Frederick Trench, the Treasurer, had in 1803, when stating the accounts, misrepresented the condition of affairs by making out that there was likely to be a deficit of £1550 on the year, while in reality there was a surplus. That he had done this by understating the income and overstating the expenditure. He further urged that in consequence of this statement by the Treasurer many persons had been deprived of the benefit of the Hospital who could have been provided for "if the funds of the hospital had been faithfully accounted for and applied to their proper purposes."[1] Kelly went on to say that he had the most incontrovertible proofs of these statements, which he had before submitted to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, but without being able to obtain the necessary attention. He prayed the King to cause an inquiry to be made into his allegations, at which inquiry he prayed for leave to be present and to be represented by counsel. In further explanation Dr. Kelly stated that the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant in 1808 had confined their examination to the general management, and had not investigated the finance of the Hospital, and consequently the irregularities that he complained of had escaped their attention.

Not only was this a charge of general mismanagement against the Governors of the Hospital, but it involved also a charge of actual fraud against the Treasurer. By direction of the Secretary of State for the Home Department the memorial containing the charge was submitted to Mr. Trench, and by Trench was forwarded to the Registrar of the Hospital. Trench also submitted a copy to George Renny, a member of the recent Commission, with a request that he would communicate his opinion on the matter directly to the Home Office.

The Governors, however, felt that it was their duty to submit a statement to the Secretary of State, which they did, accepting the full "responsibility in the matter to which Dr. Kelly refers, the blame, if any such can be proved, attaching equally to all the acting Governors." They gave a categorical denial to Dr. Kelly's statements, which they described as gross and palpable

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 317.

falsehoods. They explained, by reference to the minutes of the Board, the condition of affairs that existed in 1803, and how the unexpected profit on the entertainments in the Rotunda for that year had increased the income of the charity above what had been estimated. They went on to point out that when this increase in income was discovered at the end of the April quarter of 1803, it was found that the number of patients treated in that quarter had greatly increased, and that this increase, "if continued in the same proportion would be a surplus in the year of 356 above the number estimated for, or an additional expense (at 30*s.* each) of £534." As the increase in the income had amounted to £573 4*s.* 1½*d.*, the Governors felt that the one sum had practically balanced the other at the end of the year. When the condition of affairs was discussed on April 21st, 1803, the Governors had reported it officially to the Lord Lieutenant, and the balance at the beginning of 1804 fully justified their expectations. With regard to the allegations that the funds of the Hospital had been diverted from their proper object, the Governors pointed out that "no poor pregnant woman has ever applied for reception and been refused." In regard to the general insinuations of bad faith made against Frederick Trench, the Governors repudiated them in the most emphatic terms, saying that no other individual had attended to the interests of the Hospital "so long, so unremittingly, and so effectually," and "that no unkind or improper motives at any time appeared in Mr. Trench's conduct towards Dr. Kelly, but merely a concern for the efficiency and credit of the Hospital." The Governors concluded by expressing a hope that their statement would be considered a satisfactory answer to the charges made against them, but they welcomed any investigation that might be suggested, "being confident that the more severe the scrutiny the more fully will it terminate to their exculpation and the credit of the institution." [1]

Before this answer was received the Lord Lieutenant had asked the Commissioners who had formerly reported on the Hospital to investigate the charges made by Dr. Kelly, but on the receipt of the Governors' statement and on an investigation of the Hospital papers he ordered them to be informed that he considered the charges made by Kelly to be without foundation, and consequently deemed it unnecessary to make the investigation which he had formerly proposed to hold.

Kelly's conduct seems only explicable on the assumption that he suffered from mental aberration. On February 1st, 1810, when about to start for London with his petition to the King, he made his will, in which he disposed

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 328.

of his property to his wife Catherine, who might bequeath it as she thought proper, "except to the Lying-in hospital which has been to her knowledge entirely mismanaged under the direction of Mr. Frederick Trench and his party, which he has mis-represented to the public and appropriated to his own and his friends' advantage to the amount of above £100,000." He stated that he made this will as he was then about to sail for London in order to obtain "redress for the oppression, injustice and fraud I experienced at the Lying-in Hospital, Dublin."[1] In spite of all this, on September 4th, 1813, Kelly applied to the Governors for compensation for the loss he had sustained "by his resignation of the office of Master." The Governors, however, replied that it did not appear to them that he had "any claim to remuneration," and on February 26th, 1814, his sudden death put an end to all disputes.[2]

While these troubles were agitating the Governors the work of the Hospital under Francis Hopkins, the Master who had succeeded Kelly, was increasing rapidly. In the year 1808 the Governors, when petitioning Parliament for a grant, included in their estimate a sum for the purpose of establishing a fund for the instruction of female pupils. The project of admitting women on the nomination of the grand juries, sanctioned by Parliament in 1785, had quite failed to produce a succession of such pupils. The want of trained midwives in the country was as great as ever, and the Government admitted this necessity by sanctioning the estimates submitted to them. Four pupils were admitted and the time of training was fixed at six months, but the Governors were prepared to extend that time to a year should it be deemed necessary. The difficulty of accommodating the number of patients applying for admission was again becoming a very real one. In the year 1810 the number of patients admitted reached the unprecedented figure of 3010, and though of these only 2854 were delivered in the Hospital, yet the bed accommodation was found to be quite inadequate. On April 9th, 1810, the Master reported that frequently during the past year the number of patients in the Hospital exceeded the number of beds, and the Governors were compelled to give up the card room in the new buildings in order to find room for the extra beds required.[3]

Previous to this time the buildings occupying the south-west corner of the present Hospital grounds were not in the possession of the Governors. The large house which stood there when the Hospital was built had belonged to

[1] Prerogative Will, Dublin.

[2] 'Dublin Journal,' March 3rd, 1814.

[3] 'Minutes,' vol. iii, p. 337.

Lord Mountgarrat. We have already recorded the unsuccessful attempt of the Governors to purchase this property, on the valuation of the Wide Street Commissioners, the price being too high.

The building passed into the possession of the Richmond National Institution for the Blind, and on August 26th, 1812, the Board received from the Governors of this institution a claim for right of way through the entrance to the Hospital in Great Britain Street. This claim the Governors found to be well founded, but as the recognition of it would be likely to cause considerable inconvenience, they proposed to purchase the interest in the holding. They had the premises valued, and offered to the Richmond Institution the sum of £4000 for the whole property. This offer was refused, as was a further offer based on the new valuation, and on February 26th, 1813, the managers of the Richmond Institution informed the Board that as they intended making some addition to their house they would be glad of a definite answer to their claim of right of way without further delay.[1] The Governors then appointed a committee of their body to "treat with said Managers" and "to take such steps as may lead to a satisfactory arrangement respecting the purchase of the buildings." On May 7th, 1813, this committee submitted a report to the Board in which certain terms were suggested as a basis for agreement between the two institutions. The Governors of the Lying-in Hospital agreed to this report, and to the terms suggested, and ordered that capital stock should be sold in order to set free funds to pay the liabilities incurred. The terms agreed to were that the Governors should pay a sum of £4000 to the managers of the Richmond Institution for their entire premises, which were subject to an annual rent of £130. The entire expense of the removal of the furniture and machinery of the Institution was to be defrayed by the Governors, and those persons who had possession of part of the premises were to be allowed to complete their tenancies "made about two years ago for a period of 7 years," and then were to be allowed to take away all their materials according to their agreement with the managers. The managers of the Richmond Institution met with some unexpected difficulties in acquiring a suitable house, and it was not till May, 1815, that the premises actually came into the possession of the Governors, though the purchase money was advanced at once, interest being paid till the premises were handed over.

The Governors decided that the house which thus came into their possession should be fitted up as an auxiliary Hospital with from eighteen to twenty beds, and that the ground between it and the Hospital Garden should

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iv, p. 63.

THE SOUTH FRONT OF THE STUDENTS' RESIDENCE.

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be set for building. Advertisements were inserted in the papers asking for offers for this ground from tenants who wished to build, but fortunately none were forthcoming, and on July 29th, 1815, the Governors finally decided that it should be incorporated in the Gardens. It was on part of this ground that the Plunket Cairnes wing of the Hospital was subsequently built.

In contrast to the great success which the Governors achieved in the acquisition of these premises, the year 1815 was marked for them by a serious reverse in their fortunes. The Registrar of the Hospital, James Rafferty, who had held the office since the death of Benjamin Higgins in 1794, had, by his good work and honesty, won the entire confidence of the Board. His duties were many and responsible, yet he had always discharged them to the complete satisfaction of the Governors. Practically all the money of the Hospital, both income and expenditure, passed through his hands, and over the large sums which he received from the entertainments in the Gardens and rooms there was little check. On more than one occasion the Governors adopted regulations designed to obviate any danger from laxity on the part of the Registrar, and as each year the accounts had to be submitted for Government inspection and audit everything seemed quite safe.

Trouble, however, came at last, and on February 3rd, 1815, the usual satisfactory report from the Commissioners of Public Accounts was laid before the Board, and the Governors directed it to be inserted on the minutes. At the next meeting, on May 5th, it was found that this order was not carried out, and that the Registrar was absent through illness. A Committee was thereupon appointed to inquire into the accounts and to report to the Board. At the next meeting one member of the Board reported certain irregularities in the payment of monies on account of the Hospital, and the Governors came to the conclusion that "due attention has not been paid by the Registrar to the orders of the Board,"[1] and requested the Committee before appointed to consider the irregularities with minute attention.

The report of the Committee was not submitted till June, and, though in it the conduct of the Registrar was severely censured, it was stated that the accounts up to April 5th, 1815, were now in proper order. The Committee were disposed to attribute the irregularities "to natural indolence rather than to any culpable or corrupt motives" on the part of the Registrar, and expressed the opinion that if the orders of the Board were strictly enforced, the Governors had it in their power to prevent the recurrence of any similar trouble. The consideration of this report was postponed till July, when

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iv, p 112.

a special meeting of the Board was called to consider it, and to determine finally on the conduct of the Registrar. At this meeting the Registrar submitted a long letter expressing his regret at the delay in preparing his accounts, and attributing it to a serious illness, which had confined him to his bed for several weeks. The Governors decided to overlook the matter in view of his long services and of the fact of "no defalcation having appeared in his accounts," but they insisted that for the future their regulations should be fully carried out.

After this things went on smoothly till October 21st, 1816, when the Governors met, but were unable to transact any business owing to the absence of the Registrar, "who neither attended nor sent his books." He explained his absence at the next meeting by sudden illness, but at the quarterly meeting on November 1st the Governors decided not to re-elect him, and on November 22nd Mr. Croker was appointed in his place at a reduced salary of £100 a year. On December 13th it was reported to the Board that the accounts of the late Registrar for the past six months were in such a state of irregularity as to render it necessary "to have them minutely investigated by a professed accountant."

Subsequent investigation showed that a sum amounting to £1530 was missing, and Rafferty saved himself from the possibility of prosecution by committing suicide. "His affairs," as the Governors said, "having been found entirely insolvent," none of this money was recovered.[1] Though on his election in 1796 it had been resolved "that the Registrar do give security to the Treasurer to the amount of £500,"[2] Frederick Trench, the Treasurer, had neglected to obtain this security, on account of the entire confidence he then had in "Mr. Rafferty's correctness and integrity." The Governors obtained an opinion from the Attorney-General, Mr. Henry Saurin, that Mr. Trench was liable for the amount of the security, but the sum does not seem ever to have been recovered.

When Francis Hopkins completed his mastership on November 4th, 1814, he was succeeded by Samuel Bell Labatt, who was elected by eighteen votes to twelve cast for Dr. Pentland. Labatt had been assistant to Kelly, and was the officer selected by the Consulting Staff to take charge of the Hospital during the interregnum which followed the resignation of the Master. He had graduated in Edinburgh in June, 1797, reading for his degree a thesis entitled "De Podagra," and on September 2nd, 1802, had been admitted a Licentiate

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. v, p. 341.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 542.

of the King and Queen's College of Physicians. During the time that Hopkins was Master there had been an increase in the number of patients delivered in the Hospital of nearly four thousand over the number treated by any previous Master, and this increase was attended with a mortality of 1·15 per cent. of those delivered. This rate of mortality, though not excessive, when compared with that of some of the former years, was high, and indicated considerable sickness in the Hospital. Especially was this so in the year 1813, when the death-rate rose to 2·49 per cent.

Attached to the Hospital at this time as a student was the notorious John Brenan, known as the "turpentine" or "wrestling doctor." Brenan held the degree of M.D., and was well known as the editor of 'The Milesian Magazine, or Irish Monthly Gleaner,' a monthly magazine of which the numbers appeared irregularly from April, 1812 to 1825. In this paper Brenan lampooned with the greatest scurrility all classes of persons in Dublin, but was particularly severe on medical men and especially those connected with the Lying-in Hospital. His reason for adopting this position was that the profession refused to accept his estimate of the efficacy of the administration of turpentine as a cure for puerperal fever, a form of treatment which he had introduced. His practice was to administer to patients suffering from this condition spirits of turpentine in doses varying from half to one ounce. In 1813 he published in Dublin a pamphlet of twenty pages in which he records several successes from this treatment carried out by him in the Lying-in Hospital. He had no difficulty in upsetting the ideas of the pathology of this disease then commonly held, but he had nothing better to set up in their place. He, however, records an interesting remark of Edward Foster, a former assistant master, that the disease was closely related to peritonitis, which "was the name it should legitimately receive in baptism."[1] In the pamphlet he mentions by name several women whom he had treated in the Hospital with turpentine, some successfully, some unsuccessfully, but all without the permission of the Master, though with the cognisance of his assistant, Thomas Ferguson. Such a condition of things was, of course, intolerable, and as Brenan would not undertake to give up administering medicine to the patients without permission, there was no course left open to the Master but to exclude him from the service of the Hospital. This was done, and the action seems to have been the cause of much of the abuse with which Brenan favoured the Hospital and its staff for several years afterwards. He based his grievance on his firm belief in the infallibility of his cure, and his desire to save the

[1] 'Brenan,' p. 3.

patients from what he considered, and called, the murderous treatment of the medical staff, but it is quite evident from his writing that he was largely actuated by a bitter personal dislike of the men themselves.

The epidemic of puerperal fever of 1813 passed off, and during the year 1814 only twenty-five, or 0·99 per cent., of the patients died. When Labatt came into office the number of women delivered continued to rise, and in the year 1815 the total for the first time in the history of the Hospital reached the third thousand. In spite of the great number of patients the death-rate continued to fall, and in the years 1815 and 1816 it was only 0·55 and 0·54 per cent. respectively. The respite, however, was temporary, and in the following years the rate rose steadily, till in 1819 it reached 2·94 per cent., and in 1820 2·84 per cent.

On February 5th, 1820, Labatt submitted to the Board an elaborate report dealing with the condition of the Hospital, in which he stated that the increased death-rate in 1818 was due to the death of a number of patients from typhus fever, which was then very prevalent in the city, but that in the summer of 1819 puerperal fever had made its appearance, and towards the close of the year had become very extensive. The Master then had leaflets distributed through the city pointing out the unhealthy condition of the Hospital, and offering gratuitous attendance to those women who should elect to remain in their own homes. In spite of this many women demanded admission, and between September 1st and December 31st, 1819, 1010 women were admitted, of whom 129 took the fever and 61 died. Every effort was made to stay the disease—wards were cleaned and cleaned, but immediately after patients were admitted to them again fresh cases of fever appeared. No therapeutic measure was attended with much success, and turpentine, which was extensively tried, did not justify the claims put forward in its behalf.

The Governors had no suggestion to offer, but the report of the Master was forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant for His Excellency's information, and on May 10th, 1820, an important letter on the subject was received from his chief secretary. In this letter His Excellency pointed out how important it was to discover whether the fever originated in the Hospital or was due to causes which affected the Hospital and patients in their own homes alike. In order to do this he suggested that the Hospital be absolutely closed for a time, and that the patients who would have sought admission should be treated in their own homes, and if necessary supplied with food and other necessaries from the Hospital funds, as they would have been if they had been admitted.

THE PRIMATE'S WARD IN THE MATERNITY HOSPITAL.

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In order to deal with the exceptional few who had no home in which they could remain, it was suggested that a house be fitted up as a temporary hospital in some "healthful situation in the vicinity of the town," and that there the patients should be admitted on producing certificates "not only of absolute poverty but of their being destitute of the means of accommodation or of subsistence during the period of their confinement." To this letter the Governors replied that they were glad to be able to report that during the last six weeks the Hospital had returned to its normal healthful state and that the epidemic had subsided; further they had no evidence at all for believing that the Hospital was a source of danger to the city. They expressed doubts of the utility of attending patients in their own homes "where there is at best one room and frequently but one bed to accommodate six or eight persons."[1] With regard to the establishment of temporary hospitals the Governors pointed out that they had "no means to enable them to execute such a measure."

It was fortunate that the Governors were able to report that the epidemic was at an end, for had it been otherwise there can be little doubt His Excellency would have insisted on the closing of the Hospital.

Under the circumstances the matter was allowed to drop, and for many years afterwards the number of patients admitted was considerably reduced, and though the death-rate was often high the actual number of those who died did not again approach to anything like what it had been in the years 1819 and 1820. On November 2nd, 1821, Labatt's period of office terminated and Dr. John Pentland was appointed his successor.

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. v, p. 53.

CHAPTER XIV

JOHN PENTLAND, ROBERT COLLINS AND EVORY KENNEDY

During the years that Labatt was contending with the outbreak of puerperal fever in the Hospital, the country generally was suffering from one of those epidemics of fever which caused such havoc during the first half of the nineteenth century. So severe had the epidemic been in the years 1817, 1818 and 1819, that on March 27th, 1820, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a general Permanent Board of Health in the city of Dublin to investigate the matter and to suggest means whereby the health of the community might be improved. This Board consisted of Messrs. John David La Touche, Peter La Touche, William Disney, Samuel Bewley, William Harding, Thomas Crosthwaite, John Leland Magnay, Francis Lear, the Rev. James Horner, and Doctors Robert Perceval, George Renny, Philip Crampton, John Cheyne, and Francis Barker. The first report[1] of this board, published in 1822, dealt not only with the health of the country generally, but also took into consideration the condition of individual institutions. One such institution was the Lying-in Hospital that had attracted so much notoriety by the abnormal number of deaths occurring in it from puerperal fever. As we have stated, however, in the last chapter, the Hospital appeared to be comparatively healthy during the year 1821, the death-rate being only 0·77 per cent., a trifling matter when compared with the rates of 2·94 and 2·84 per cent. in the two previous years.

In order to collect information on the subject-matter of this investigation the board sent a series of questions to various medical practitioners in the city with a request for answers and comments on the matters dealt with. Fortunately these questions, and the answers returned by at least one practitioner, have been preserved. In the 'Dublin Hospital Reports' for 1822

[1] 'G. B. Health Report.'

THE STUDENTS' MESS ROOM.

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Mr. John C. Douglas published the questions submitted to him together with the answers he had made.[1]

John C. Douglas had been assistant to Hopkins from November 24th, 1808, to January 1st, 1812, and had acquired some reputation by a paper he had written on "Explanation of the Process of Spontaneous Evolution of the Fœtus," the first edition of which was published in 1811, while he was assistant, and the second eight years later.[2] Douglas had little information of value to give on the subject of puerperal fever, but was inclined to attribute its recent prevalence in the Lying-in Hospital to the very overcrowded state of that institution. He tells us that till the winter of 1788–89 the number of beds in the Hospital never exceeded fifty, which he considered only sufficient to accommodate 1000 patients in the year, yet 1500 were admitted; in 1803 there were seventy-five beds to accommodate nearly 2000 patients; in 1810 the number of patients increased to nearly 3000, while the number of beds was only increased to ninety-three. He believed that the coldness of the air in the Hospital acted as a predisposing cause by lowering the vitality of the patients, and that probably for this reason the incidence of the disease was less among women confined in their own homes. In the mild sporadic cases he considered that the local inflammation of the peritoneum was the primary condition and the cause of the fever, but when the disease assumed a severe epidemic type the local inflammation was merely a secondary result of the general constitutional fever. He had some suspicion that the infection was carried to the patients by those in attendance on them, and he mentioned the case of a pupil in the Hospital who declined to attend any further on the patients since "several patients successively, upon whom he waited during labour, were seized with this disease and died." He does not appear to have had any suspicion of the real method of infection, though he states that "persons much engaged in hospital duty at a time when its atmosphere is heavily loaded with this peculiar effluvium"[3] may carry on their persons the contagion of the disease. Douglas also expressed himself as convinced of the efficacy of the treatment of the disease by turpentine.

This and other similar answers the Board embodied in a report that was presented to the Lord Lieutenant, and by him, on December 11th, 1821, was submitted to the Governors of the Hospital with a request that they would give it their earnest consideration. The chief recommendation of the report

[1] Douglas, 'Puerperal Fever.'

[2] Douglas.

[3] Douglas, 'Puerperal Fever,' p. 145.

was that the admissions to the Hospital should be at once reduced, so that in the future overcrowding would be impossible.

The Governors replied that they were doing everything in their power to restrict the number admitted, but feared that any sudden attempt "to curtail the business of their charity" would be attended with great distress among the poor people they served.[1] They, however, decided that they would admit to special wards any woman who would pay £1 to the Hospital, and restrict the admission of free patients to those who produced a recommendation from a Governor, their parochial clergyman, or some other respectable person. They also made the rather impracticable rule that such recommendations were to be presented to and considered by the Master each morning from 10 till 11 o'clock. In the first year of John Pentland's mastership there was some reduction in the number of patients admitted, but the reduction was not great, the number for that year being 2764 as compared with 3052 in the year 1821. The number of deaths also fell from twenty-two to twelve.

On October 19th, 1822, a number of charges against the administration of the Hospital, contained in an anonymous letter addressed to a lady in Merrion Square, were submitted to the Board. The Governors undertook a very full investigation of the matter at their next meeting and found that the charges were generally unsupported by fact. The most important of the charges was similar to the old charge brought against Kelly, that the Master was in the habit of sending the patients out of hospital too soon after delivery. The Governors resolved that no patient should be allowed to leave the Hospital till the sixth day after delivery "without a remonstrance from the Master or assistant on duty," and that the ninth day was the earliest they should be required to depart. Should patients insist on leaving before that time the Master was recommended to send them home in sedan chairs at the expense of the Hospital.[2] The Governors further decided that the size of the Hospital required the two assistants to be resident, instead of only one as was before considered sufficient.

John Pentland did not live to complete his term of seven years as Master, and he died in office on August 26th, 1826. He had graduated in medicine in Edinburgh University in June, 1789, reading a thesis on puerperal fever, a subject he was to become so familiar with later. On December 5th, 1791, he was admitted a licentiate in Medicine of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and some years later he was admitted a licentiate in midwifery,

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. v, p. 114.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 140.

and on August 16th, 1824, was elected an Honorary Fellow of the College. There is not much of note in the history of his mastership, except the continual efforts made to stem the outbreaks of puerperal fever by reducing the number of women admitted to the Hospital, efforts which met with only partial success. Though the number of patients admitted was considerably reduced, there were two serious outbreaks of the disease, one in 1823, when the mortality reached 2·28 per cent., and another in 1826, when 3·21 per cent. of the women delivered in the year died.

On the death of Pentland the care of the Hospital was entrusted to his assistants, Dr. Gordon and Dr. Alexander J. Nicholson, and as Dr. Gordon's term of office was due to terminate on September 6th, the Governors requested him to remain on duty till the quarterly meeting in November when the new Master was to be elected. When the Board met on November 3rd, 1826, Dr. Robert Collins, Dr. Shekleton and Dr. Johnson presented themselves as candidates for the mastership and Robert Collins was unanimously elected.

Collins was quite a young man at the time of his election, having been a pupil in the Hospital under Labatt, and assistant to Pentland from February, 1822, to February, 1825. He had graduated in medicine in Glasgow University in 1822, and in 1824 was admitted a licentiate in medicine of the King and Queen's College of Physicians. In 1839 he was elected a Fellow of the College, and in 1847 its President, being granted in the later year the degree of M.D. *Honoris Causa* by the University of Dublin. Collins married a daughter of Dr. Joseph Clarke, and he seems to have maintained very intimate relations with his father-in-law, and to Clarke's influence we may perhaps attribute the election of Collins at such an early period in his career. Both Shekleton and Johnson, who were candidates with him for the post, were senior to him on the roll of assistants, and both of them subsequently were elected Masters.

Collins on his appointment found the Hospital in a very unhealthy condition. Although the number of deaths was reduced by more than one half in his first year, it still remained high, and not till he had been three years Master was the death-rate reduced to any considerable degree. Puerperal fever continued to be an ever-threatening menace to the patients, and early in the year 1829 the Lord Lieutenant again addressed the Governors on the subject of the disease, "observing that it now prevails to an alarming extent in the hospital."[1] Just as had happened to Labatt, so Collins, when the letter came before the Governors, was able to state that the Hospital was then

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. v, p. 255.

free from the disease, and fortunately only twelve deaths were recorded in each of the four following years, giving the very creditable death-rate for those years of 0·40 per cent. The number of patients admitted had been considerably reduced, and on February 6th, 1829, there were only sixty patients in the Hospital.

Later in the year a Government Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of the various hospitals in Dublin, and among others the Lying-in Hospital. Various questions were submitted to the Governors by the Commission, and the answers returned give some interesting information concerning the general economy of the place. These replies tell us that between the years 1801 and 1827 there were 70,832 patients relieved in the Hospital, at an average cost of a little under £2 8*s*. per patient. In the year ending May 5th, 1829, a sum of £4 only was received from pay patients, and £99 4*s*. 7*d*. from female pupils, while on these pupils £73 16*s*. 10*d*. was expended in their maintenance. There were, besides, thirty-six pupils attending classes in the Hospital, five of whom were resident. The fees paid by these pupils went directly to the Master, and the Governors stated that they had not then and never had any record of what the Master received from such fees.

Attending on the patients in the Hospital were thirteen nurse-tenders, each receiving as wages £6 9*s*. 2*d*. a year; and eleven ward maids, who received £3 13*s*. 8*d*. a year each. Each nurse had charge of ten beds. Extern patients were sometimes visited at their own homes by the staff and the pupils, but no record was kept of these patients, nor were they included in the registry of the Hospital. The Governors pointed out the great loss of income to the Hospital that followed "that great imperial arrangement," the Union, for previous to that the entertainments organised in the Rotunda had produced a yearly income of £3460, which had now fallen to £1760, while the tax on sedan chairs had become "totally unproductive."

An interesting table, prepared at the request of the Lord Lieutenant in March, 1828, is preserved in the minute book of the Hospital, which gives the number of pupils, both male and female, attending the Hospital in each year, beginning with 1787.[1] The growth of the Hospital as a teaching institution is well shown by this table. In the first ten years of this period (1787–1796) only sixty-six male and eleven female students attended, and during the next ten years (1797–1806) the numbers remained nearly the same, sixty male and seventeen female. In the decade 1807–1816 the numbers rose to 250 male and 93 female, and from 1817–1820 there was a further increase to 476 and

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. v, p. 239.

126 respectively, while in the year 1827 a total of 89 male pupils was registered. Unfortunately the originals of these registers are lost, and consequently we are unable to identify the pupils.

The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed many changes in the permanent staff of the Hospital. In January, 1817, Samuel Croker-King, who had been Consulting Surgeon since 1775, died, and he was succeeded by Ralph Smyth Obré. Obré, however, only held office for a little over three years, and on his death Abraham Colles was appointed. It is interesting to note that all the Consulting Surgeons up to this time had been members of the staff of Steevens' Hospital. Four years after the death of Croker-King, William Harvey, the Consulting Physician, died. Harvey had succeeded Francis Hutcheson in 1774, and he in turn was succeeded on March 26th, 1819, by James Clarke, son of Dr. Joseph Clarke, the former Master. James Clarke was elected a Governor of the Hospital, and his father in consequence made a donation to the funds of the Hospital of £150. Clarke died of typhus fever on October 5th, 1820, and at the Board meeting in the following November, William Brooke was elected Consulting Physician in his place. On Brooke's death in 1829, Samuel Bell Labatt, the former Master, was elected in his place.

The Chaplaincy, too, changed hands several times. In 1801 William Ould was compelled to ask for leave of absence owing to ill-health, but he continued in office, with an assistant, till 1816, when, on February 2nd of that year, his *locum tenens*, the Rev. Peter LeFanu, was appointed to succeed him. LeFanu died in 1825, and on March 5th of that year was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Packenham Huddart. Four years after Huddart's appointment the Governors decided to raise the pew rent in the Chapel, and to devote the extra money obtained from this source to the support of an assistant Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Croker being appointed in that capacity on November 2nd, 1827. Croker died in 1831, and on April 25th of that year the Rev. Mr. Fea succeeded him, but resigned in the following January. In February, 1832, the Rev. Mr. Burnett was appointed assistant chaplain, but resigned after having held office only a few months, and on February 25th, 1833, the Rev. Charles Fleury was elected joint chaplain with Mr. Huddart.

Mr. Croker, the Registrar who had been appointed after the trouble with Rafferty, proved an efficient officer, but he resigned his office on April 5th, 1819, because the Governors insisted on his attending the services in the Chapel in order to take up the collection. Croker felt that such a duty should not be imposed on him, and he was too independent to argue the matter. On his resignation, Mr. William M. Benson was appointed Registrar.

Miss Hincks, who had succeeded Mrs. Rippingham as Matron on August 2nd, 1805, did not remain long in the Hospital after her quarrel with the Master. Though she seems to have got on quite well with Dr. Hopkins, who succeeded Kelly, she sent in her resignation to the Board in the latter part of the year 1811. The Governors then decided that "a widow of middle age—good moral character and no family will be considered most eligible"[1] for the post of Matron, and on November 1st, 1811, they elected Mrs. Caldbeck. At this election Mrs. Jebb was again a candidate, and was only beaten by two votes. In spite of the qualities which the Governors had desired in their new Matron, they allowed her daughter, a Miss Cooke, to assist Mrs. Caldbeck in the duties of her office, though they did not officially recognise her position, and on the death of the mother they appointed the daughter her successor on August 31st, 1831.

The mastership of Collins, though not remarkable for any striking event, was on the whole satisfactory. The health of the Hospital, which had been singularly bad for some years, gradually improved under his management. The death-rate fell to 1·29 per cent. in 1827, which, though high, was distinctly better than the 3·31 per cent. of the previous year. During the last four years of his mastership only twelve patients died each year, and the percentage of mortality in those years never exceeded 0·56, the average mortality during his seven years of office being only 0·96 per cent.

Shortly after he left the Hospital Collins embodied the experience he had gained there in a treatise on midwifery which was issued in 1835.[2] In this work, which must be looked on as an elaborate report of the Hospital, he analyses the cases that came under his observation, and gives many statistical tables founded on the Hospital Registry. This plan, first introduced by Clarke, was subsequently adopted by several successive Masters, and the works on midwifery thus published may be looked on as reports of the Hospital essentially similar to those now issued annually by the Master, which form such a valuable addition to the statistics of obstetrics.

When Collins completed his term of office on November 1st, 1833, Evory Kennedy, who had been his assistant from February, 1828, to February, 1831, was elected in his stead. Kennedy had studied medicine, first in the School of Physic, then in the School of the College of Surgeons, and subsequently he spent the session 1826–7 in Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D., reading a thesis, *De Febre Puerperarum*. On his return to Dublin he was on September

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. iv, p. 22.

[2] Collins Mid.

18th, 1828, admitted a licentiate in Medicine of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, of which body he was elected a Fellow in 1839, while he was Master of the Hospital. In that year also he was granted the M.D. *Honoris Causa* of the University of Dublin, his name being sent forward to the Board for that honour by the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians.[1]

At the meeting at which Kennedy was elected Master, just before the Governors proceeded to ballot, it was proposed that each Governor before he recorded his vote should sign a declaration that his subscription had been paid by himself "without promise or prospect of repayment by any person." This proposal, however, was lost on a division, the majority of the Governors considering that it was a needless imputation on the character of the members of the Board. For many years it had been the custom of the Governors to fill vacancies on the Board by the election of those persons who promised to subscribe each year to the institution £11 10*s.* 9*d.*, a sum which was calculated as sufficient to support a bed for one year. It was rumoured that the candidates for the mastership paid the necessary sum for certain persons, and that those persons, if elected as Governors, agreed to support the candidate when he sought election to office. There seems to be no doubt that this rumour was founded on fact, and that an assistant who aspired to the higher office of Master often invested considerable capital in making Governors. This matter was frequently before the Board in subsequent years, but it was not till much later on in the century that it was finally settled and the practice discontinued.

In the year following Kennedy's election the Governors met with another of those misfortunes similar to that which had occurred in connection with their Registrar Rafferty. On March 31st, 1834, the collector was found to have misappropriated some of the funds which he had collected, and was unable to make repayment. The sum, however, was inconsiderable, and well covered by his securities. The collector was dismissed, and Mr. Frederick Huddart, brother to the Chaplain, appointed in his stead.

On September 10th, 1834, the Hospital lost a valued friend in the death of Joseph Clarke, and the Governors decided to perpetuate the memory of his fifty years' connection with the Hospital by the purchase of a portrait, for which a sum of fifty pounds was voted. In the following year the Master presented from his sister, Miss Kennedy, a bust of Dr. Clarke which she had herself modelled. Both bust and portrait are still preserved in the Hospital.

One of the most notable events at this period was the purchase by the

[1] 'Kirkpatrick,' p. 272.

Governors of the ground rents of the Hospital and Garden. This rent, which amounted to £184 12*s.* 3¾*d.* a year, was a serious drain on the Hospital funds, and the Governors decided to invest some of their capital in its purchase, which after some legal difficulty was effected in 1835, the price being the rather high one of twenty-six years' purchase. Though this purchase suggests that the Hospital was in ample funds we do not find this to be the case. The Parliamentary grant, though made regularly, had been considerably reduced, and the Government had threatened to reduce it still further. The Chapel, which used to be such a source of income, now scarcely paid its way. In the seven years, 1824–1830, the average annual profit was £113 18*s.* 2*d.*; between 1831 and 1838 this profit had fallen to £24 4*s.* 6*d.* So serious had the matter become that at one time the Governors contemplated closing the Chapel altogether. The Rev. Mr. Huddart, the Chaplain, was in ill-health, and was unable to devote that attention to the services which were necessary to make them attractive. He resigned in November, 1840, but his successor, the Rev. C. H. Minchin, did not succeed in effecting much improvement.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of great activity in medical teaching in Dublin, and numerous private medical schools were pressing very severely on those of older establishment. This activity had compelled the older corporations to set their houses in order, and great efforts were made to improve the School of Physic and the School of the Royal College of Surgeons. The College of Physicians in 1827 had appointed William F. Montgomery Professor of Midwifery in the School of Physic, and his ability as a lecturer was calculated to attract many pupils to his classes. The private schools, however, were more important rivals of the Hospital, since their proprietors, not satisfied with providing courses of lectures for their students, in many instances tried to afford also facilities for clinical study. As a result quite a number of small lying-in hospitals sprang up in Dublin, and although any one of them was insignificant in itself, yet combined they must have made a considerable difference to the older institution.

The first and by far the most important of these rivals was the Coombe Lying-in Hospital. When, in December, 1822, the Meath Hospital moved to its present site in Long Lane, the house it had occupied in the Coombe was rented by John Kirby and Michael Daniell, the proprietors of the Peter Street Medical School, and by them opened as a hospital for the clinical instruction of the pupils attending their school. Four years later, in December, 1825, in very inclement weather, two women making their way to the Hospital in Great Britain Street were overcome by the cold, and the next morning

THE LADY STUDENTS' DINING ROOM.

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were found buried in the snow with the bodies of their newborn babies.[1] Stirred by this tragedy some charitable people decided to start a lying-in hospital in the liberties, and in the following year a large ward was opened in Kirby's hospital for lying-in women. So many applied for admission to this ward that the subscribers decided to enlarge the charity and take over the whole house, which early in 1829 was opened with fifty-two beds as the Coombe Lying-in Hospital. Charles Johnson, and after him John Breen, both of them former assistants of the Rotunda, were appointed consulting accoucheurs.

A lying-in hospital in Townsend Street was started in 1832, as an institution for the treatment of women in reduced circumstances who did not wish to go to hospital. Shortly after, a small hospital containing twenty beds was opened, but it did not do well and died from lack of support in 1836.

The South-Eastern Lying-in Hospital was opened in April, 1834, in 20, South Cumberland Street. It contained twenty-five beds and had accommodation for three intern pupils. Dr. Thomas Edward Beatty published in 1835 the first report[2] of this institution, in which he stated that 299 women had been delivered in the year. This hospital made a special appeal to pupils of the School of Physic and of the Park Street Medical School, both of which were situated in close proximity to it. It remained open till 1852.

The Western Lying-in Hospital, opened in October, 1835, by Dr. Speedy and Dr. Fleetwood Churchill, was situated in Agar House, No. 31, Arran Quay. Churchill published elaborate reports of this hospital in 1837, 1838 and 1839, but only about one hundred patients were admitted each year, and in 1853 the place was finally closed.

The Wellesley Female Institution was another of these hospitals, which continued for some time in Mercer's Street. Henry Maunsell published several reports on the work of his institution, the first of which appeared in No. 117 of the 'Edinburgh Medical Journal.' The patients were nearly all, if not all, attended at their own homes.

The Anglesea Hospital in Peter Street was attached to the medical school of G. T. Hayden, known as the "Original School of Medicine." This hospital was closed after Hayden's death in 1857.

In 1844 Dr. Henry T. Coppin opened a lying-in hospital with sixty beds in South Great George's Street, near where the old Lying-in Hospital had

[1] 'Hospital Hist.,' Ringland, p. 26.

[2] 'Dublin Quart. Journ. Med. Science,' vol. v, p. 66.

stood. He made arrangements for the teaching of both intern and extern pupils, and applied to the College of Physicians for recognition of the courses in midwifery given in the hospital. This recognition, however, was not granted, and the hospital shortly after was closed.

In spite of this competition the Rotunda Hospital suffered from a chronic state of overcrowding. Ever since the time Labatt was Master, when, in the years 1818 and 1819, the number of women delivered in the Hospital had reached 3589 and 3197 respectively, with 56 and 94 deaths in each year, an effort had been made to reduce the number of women admitted. The Government, fearing another outbreak of puerperal fever, put considerable pressure on the Board to keep the number of admissions below 2000 in each year. In spite of this pressure Kennedy was the first Master in the nineteenth century who managed to reduce the average yearly admissions during his time of office below this figure.

With regard to the number of students attending the Hospital the matter was different, and here the rivalry of the new institutions was more keenly felt. We have not the actual numbers of students attending either at the Lying-in Hospital or at the other schools, but that Kennedy felt the drain seems evident from the advertisements he inserted in the daily papers. In these advertisements he informed students of the many advantages afforded by the Hospital, and stated that he intended to issue diplomas to those who took out their courses with him, and also to publish periodically a list of those students who had obtained this qualification in midwifery. This advertisement created quite a flutter among the private teachers in Dublin, who published a counter manifesto pointing out that Kennedy had no more authority than they had to license students in midwifery, or publish official lists of those qualified to practise. Kennedy, however, said that he intended to persist in the course he had announced, and the private teachers laid the matter before the Royal College of Surgeons.

On October 10th, 1836, a long letter from the Secretary of the College was laid before the Board of the Hospital, enclosing a report of the Court of Censors of the College, to whom the matter in dispute had been submitted. The Court of Censors held that the Master was not justified in examining into the acquirements of his students, or in declaring "any opinion into their competence to practice." The Governors replied by enclosing to the College extracts from their by-laws made in 1786, and approved by the chief judges in Ireland. As these by-laws laid down that a registry was to be kept of students in attendance, and that certificates were to be given to those who

attended regularly, the Governors stated that they considered that the Master was only doing his duty in adopting the course he proposed, and consequently they could not interfere with him. The matter seems to have rested here.

Kennedy's term of office ended on November 6th, 1840, and on that day Charles Johnson was elected in his place. During the seven years that Kennedy had been Master 13,167 women were delivered in the Hospital of 13,323 children. Of the children 79 died before leaving the Hospital, and 651 were stillborn, while of the women 224, or 1·70 per cent., died—a higher percentage mortality than had occurred in the total work of any Master since the opening of the Hospital.

Mention must be made here of a notable event which occurred during the time Kennedy was Master, though it was not strictly connected with the history of the Hospital. In November, 1838, two years before the close of his mastership, Kennedy started a society among the students of the Hospital for the discussion of obstetrical subjects. To it he gave the name of the *Dublin Obstetrical Society*, though at first there were few members outside the students of the Hospital.[1] The meetings were presided over by the Master or some other obstetrician who had held office in the Hospital. One of the smaller rooms in the Rotunda buildings was used as a meeting-place, and there, on November 14th, 1838, Kennedy delivered the first introductory address. Very quickly the new society attracted a large number of practitioners as members, and the proceedings of the society were regularly reported in the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal.' When the new buildings of the College of Physicians were completed the hospitality of the College was extended to the society, and there it continued to meet till in 1882 it amalgamated with the other medical societies of Dublin to form the Academy of Medicine in Ireland. Between 1872 and the time of its amalgamation several volumes of proceedings were published, and form a rich store-house of the obstetrical traditions of the city.[2]

For many years after he ceased to be Master, Kennedy took an active interest in the welfare of the Hospital, and we shall have occasion to refer to his work later on in this history. In later life he sought parliamentary honours as representative of the city of Derry. He was unsuccessful, but the contest gave occasion for a witty epigram by John S. Drennan:

"An Accoucher for Derry! Shame and Pity!
What a reflection on the Maiden City!

[1] 'Hospital Hist.,' Ringland, p. 29.
[2] 'Dub. Obs. Trans.'

Rejoice old Walls : Ye Prentice Boys be merry.
Another Great Deliverer for Derry."

Kennedy's friends made the fitting reply—

"Remembering King William's fame
A Deliverer surely has a claim."[1]

Kennedy lived to an advanced age and died April 23rd, 1886, or nearly forty-six years after he ceased to be Master.

[1] 'Brit. Med. Journ.,' 25, iii, 1911.

THE READING ROOM IN THE STUDENTS' RESIDENCE.

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CHAPTER XV

CHARLES JOHNSON, ROBERT SHEKLETON, AND ALFRED McCLINTOCK

Evory Kennedy ceased to be Master on November 6th, 1840, and Charles Johnson, who had been assistant to Labatt from February, 1816, to February, 1819, was on the same day appointed his successor. Johnson, a native of Wexford, had begun the study of medicine in the Infirmary of that county as an apprentice to Dr. Ebenezer Jacob, who had been appointed surgeon to that hospital when it was first opened in 1769.[1] Jacob died in 1812, and Johnson then came to Dublin to finish his apprenticeship with Thomas Hewson, surgeon to the Meath Hospital.

While at the Meath, Johnson attracted the notice of Dr. John Cheyne, who subsequently appointed him his assistant in the House of Industry Hospitals. Having completed his three years as assistant in the Lying-in Hospital Johnson devoted considerable attention to the study of diseases of children, and in 1822 joined with Sir Henry Marsh in starting the Pitt Street Dispensary for Children. In that year he published in the 'Dublin Hospital Reports'[2] an account of two cases in which he had, by means of ligature, removed the uterus of patients suffering from chronic inversion. The operation was then quite a new one, and Johnson got great credit and considerable practice as the result of his success.

In 1829 he was admitted to the licenses in medicine and midwifery of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, having been before a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and a Professor of Midwifery in its School. Increasing practice forced him to resign his professorship in 1834, but he was appointed a consulting accoucheur to the Coombe Lying-in Hospital.[3]

Johnson was rather an autocrat among his patients, and was one of the

[1] 'McClintock Address,' 1867.

[2] Johnson cases.

[3] 'Coombe Report.'

first obstetricians in Dublin to insist on his right of selecting the monthly nurse who was to attend his cases. By this he was able to exercise a very real control over the nurses, for as he had an extensive practice the nurses were willing and anxious to retain his patronage.

In the year following his appointment as Master, Johnson was elected an Honorary Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, a tribute to the Master of the Lying-in Hospital that would have seemed impossible some years earlier. He was essentially conservative in his practice, following the traditional teaching of the Hospital that "meddlesome midwifery is bad," but he never had the same prejudice as his predecessors against the forceps, though he strenuously opposed their use unless it was absolutely necessary. During his seven years of office 13,699 women were delivered in the Hospital, of whom 179, or 1·30 per cent., died. Thus, though the actual number delivered was greater than in Kennedy's time, the number of deaths was somewhat less.

On December 31st, 1835, shortly after Kennedy had been appointed Master, the Board had decided to open one of the wards in the auxiliary hospital for the admission of women suffering from chronic diseases, thus starting the gynæcological department of the Hospital.[1] The auxiliary hospital was still largely used for the reception of midwifery patients, and on August 18th, 1845, the Governors decided to increase the accommodation there by opening an additional ward, so as to enable them to set free the card room, which had been appropriated to hospital uses on account of the great influx of patients in the early part of the year 1813. The building in connection with this ward was entrusted to Mr. Farrell, under the supervision of the architect, Mr. Darley, and the legacy of £500, bequeathed to the Hospital by Richard Cave, was used to pay for the work.[2] This new ward formed a valuable addition to the accommodation of the Hospital, and to its use we may attribute the increase in the number of patients admitted while Johnson was Master.

In 1842 the Government appointed yet another commission to report on the charitable institutions of Dublin, and in their report, which was published in 1846, the Commissioners recommended very drastic changes in the management of the Hospital. Since the foundation of the Hospital one of the most important features of its management, as planned by Mosse, was that the remuneration of the Master for his services should depend solely on the

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vi, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 225.

fees which he derived from his pupils and assistants. With the growth of the school this remuneration had become considerable, and the position of Master had become one of the most lucrative medical appointments in the city. For some reason the Commissioners objected to this plan, and recommended that the Master should be paid a fixed salary of £350 a year together with one third of the money paid in fees by the pupils; the remainder of the fees were to be devoted to the use of the Hospital.

These recommendations, brought before the Board by Robert Collins, were very fully considered, and the Governors came to the unanimous conclusion that "it would be injurious to the best interests of the institution, as well as highly detrimental to its prosperity as a practical school in this department of medical science, to adopt the suggestions of the Commissioners."[1] The Governors felt that to remunerate the Master chiefly by a fixed salary, and not to leave him solely dependent for his emoluments upon his own exertions and character as a teacher, would inevitably make him careless as to the prosperity of the school.

There can be no doubt that in coming to this conclusion the Governors acted wisely and in the best interests of the Hospital. When Mosse planned the scheme for its management that was embodied in the charter, he so arranged that the interest of the Master was bound up in the closest way with that of the Hospital he ruled. While this was so, his term of office was so limited that there was no time for his energies to become staled by custom, and there was every incentive for him to work strenuously during the short term of his mastership. The most cogent proof, however, of the wisdom of the charter is to be found in the continuous and progressive improvement which has marked the history of the Hospital during each Master's rule in the past 150 years. Fortunately, the report of the Commissioners, like so many other similar documents, had little or no influence on the course of events.

In 1843 the Hospital lost the services of the Registrar, William M. Benson, who had been appointed in 1819. In March, 1843, serious illness made him unable to serve the Hospital any longer, and Mr. J. G. Strickland was appointed in his place.[2] A pension of £30 a year was given to Benson, which he received till the time of his death on September 24th, 1847. Benson was an excellent officer who had served the Hospital well. He deserves our thanks particularly for the clear and legible writing in which he recorded the minutes of the meetings of the Board.

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vi, p. 260.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 141.

Charles Johnson retired from office on November 5th, 1847, and Jonathan Labatt, Robert Johns, Henry Law Dwyer, Alfred McClintock and Robert Shekleton came forward as candidates for the vacant post. On the motion of Chief Baron Pigot, seconded by Dr. Samuel Bell Labatt, Robert Shekleton was unanimously elected Master. Shekleton was much the most senior of the candidates, having served as assistant with Charles Johnson under Labatt from 1817 to 1820. He was the son of Joseph Shekleton, and was born in Dundalk about 1789. Both he and his brother John studied medicine in the school of the College of Surgeons, where, in 1820, John had been appointed Curator of the Museum.[1] John died in 1824 as the result of the infection of a wound received in a dissection,[2] but he had already won for himself fame by his description of the form of aneurysm which still bears his name. Robert Shekleton was for some time surgeon to the 51st Regiment, but had retired, and was on half-pay at the time of his election as Master.

In December, 1847, when the Governors came to consider their annual estimate for presentation to Parliament, they found that their expenditure would exceed their income for the year by over £1500. This was most unfortunate for the new Master, then entering on his period of office, and anxious, like his predecessors, to effect improvements and reforms. Some retrenchment was absolutely necessary, and a committee was appointed to consider what reduction in the expenses was possible. This committee, actuated by the true principle that should guide all hospital economy, decided that every possible sacrifice should be made, consistent with efficiency, before the number of beds was reduced. They recommended that the various allowances to the officers should be stopped, such as the 10 ton of coal to the assistants, and they hoped by these means to effect a saving of nearly £300 a year. In this way the total charge of the Hospital, including the £406 3*s*. 1*d*. paid as interest on the debentures, was reduced to £1 13*s*. 8*d*. per patient—a figure which the committee maintained was the lowest possible.

The very strictest economy was necessary, as the Government was putting great pressure on the Board to reduce their expenditure, and a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which in 1847 had considered the Parliamentary grants to the Irish charities, had "recommended a progressive diminution in these votes with a view to their final extinction."[3] The threatened withdrawal of the grant of £1000 a year made by Parliament was

[1] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 276.

[2] 'Dublin Hospital Reports,' vol. iv, p. 240.

[3] 'Minutes,' vol. vi, p. 316.

THE PATIENTS' BALCONY, IN THE PLUNKET CAIRNES WING.

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a most serious matter for the Hospital, and the Board sent an urgent appeal to the Government, stating the pressing needs of the institution. In spite of this appeal the grant was in 1849 reduced to £800, and further reductions were threatened in the future.

The Hospital income was at this time suffering from the reduction in the returns from the public rooms and from the Chapel. The gradual migration of the population towards the south side of the city, which in later years became so marked, was even then being felt, and as the people left the neighbourhood both these sources of income began to fail. In June, 1850, the Governors addressed "the Committee of the Antient Concerts," who contemplated raising a sum of £1500 to build additions to their rooms in Great Brunswick Street, and pointed out the harm that such addition would be likely to do to the charity. The times, however, were changing, and the protest did little good.

The Chapel, which formerly had been a source of considerable income, was now an actual expense to the Hospital, there being a loss of £29 17*s.* 7*d.* in the year 1849. The chaplain, the Rev. C. H. Minchin, who had been appointed in 1840, seems to have made some spasmodic efforts to retrieve its fallen fortunes, but with poor success. Thus in 1843 he was permitted to collect subscriptions to erect an organ, but he does not appear to have succeeded in getting enough money, though in the following year Mr. Francis Blake Knox agreed to paint the Chapel at his own expense. The old organ, originally ordered by Mosse from Snetzler of London, had been placed in the new rooms, but in 1824 it was purchased by Archdeacon Torrens, on behalf of the parishioners of St. Peter's parish,[1] for the new church of St. Stephen in Mount Street, where it remained for many years, and recently some parts of it were incorporated in the new organ at present in use.

So serious had the finances of the Chapel become, that on January 2nd, 1849, the Board directed that a letter should be sent to the chaplain, stating that if he could not suggest some way to prevent the Chapel being a charge on the Hospital they would be compelled to close it at the beginning of the next quarter.[2] To this letter the chaplain replied by stating that he was willing to receive as his stipend "whatever balance remains after paying the other expenses necessarily attendant on the chapel." This offer the Governors accepted, and the Hospital was at all events secured against loss. In 1858 the Rev. Ambrose Leet was elected joint chaplain, without salary, and in the

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. v, p. 170 and vol. vi, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 319.

following year on the resignation of Minchin he was elected sole chaplain. Leet resigned after two years in office, and on November 1st, 1861, the Rev. Benjamin Gibson was appointed in his place. Under the wise and energetic management of Gibson the Chapel soon recovered much of its lost popularity, and was again able to aid the funds of the charity.

On March 28th, 1851, a proposal was brought forward by one of the Governors that after the termination of Dr. Shekleton's mastership "one third of the emoluments derived from pupils and midwives shall be paid into the funds of the hospital."[1] This proposal was passed by the Governors at their meeting on May 2nd, 1851, and remained on their books till September 29th, 1854, when, on the motion of Dr. Johnson, it was rescinded, the Governors expressing the opinion that the reasons submitted to the Government in 1847 made the adoption of such a resolution unwise.

It was well that the Governors decided to be consistent in their actions, for on March 8th, 1854, they received a letter from Edward Grogan, M.P., informing them that the House of Commons had appointed a Committee to inquire into the propriety of continuing the Hospital grants. Mr. Grogan stated that it was of the utmost importance to the Hospital "that the evidence in support of these grants should be clear, strong, and conclusive," and he suggested that the Governors should send over some of their body to London to give such evidence before the Committee. The Governors decided to send the Master and the Registrar, and both these officers were examined at considerable length by the Committee.[2] Dr. William Daniel Moore, who was also examined by this Committee, gave very valuable evidence as to the good work done by the Hospital.[3]

The Committee eventually reported in very favourable terms of the Hospital, but in the following year the Lord Lieutenant appointed Lord Talbot de Malahide, Mr. John Flint South, and Mr. William H. Stephenson, with Mr. Denis Phelan as Secretary, as Commissioners to consider this report as well as the whole question of the Parliamentary grants. These Commissioners inspected the Hospital in May, and on September 22nd, 1855, met the Governors to discuss with them those matters which appeared to need revision. In their report, published in 1856, the Commissioners, while approving the general arrangements of the Hospital and recommending it for a grant of £700 a year, suggested that the number of Governors should

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 4.
[2] 'H. C. Report,' 1854, pp. 33 and 44.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

A STUDENT'S BEDROOM.

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be unlimited, and that the qualifying subscription for them should be reduced. They further stated that there appeared to them to be nothing in the charter to limit the selection of Master to those who had been assistants. They strongly urged also the extension of the extern maternity in connection with the Hospital.[1]

In consequence of these reports the *Dublin Hospitals Regulation Act*[2] was passed in 1856, in spite of a petition which the Governors presented to Parliament against it. By this Act was set up the Board of Superintendence of the Dublin Hospitals, which still continues each year to inspect and to report on those hospitals that receive Parliamentary grants. The reports of this Board,[3] which are published annually, contain a vast deal of information about the work and management of the hospitals that are inspected. Mr. Denis Phelan, the first Secretary of the Board of Superintendence, appears to have made himself particularly disagreeable to the Governors of the Rotunda by his private visits and investigations into the Hospital management, and on August 16th, 1862, it is recorded that he was officially censured by the Chairman, Lord Talbot de Malahide, for his conduct in this matter.[4]

Shekleton's mastership terminated on November 3rd, 1854, and Alfred McClintock and John Denham presented themselves as candidates for the office. McClintock, who was elected, was two years senior as assistant, and he received twenty-seven votes as against eighteen cast for Denham. Four years later, in 1858, Dr. George Johnston and Dr. Edward Sinclair, who had been Shekleton's assistants, published a volume on midwifery which formed the clinical report of the Hospital during the seven years that Shekleton was Master.[5] Just two years before, McClintock and Samuel Hardy had published a somewhat similar volume dealing with the period between January 1st, 1842, and January 1st, 1845, when they had served as assistants to Charles Johnson.[6] Both these works are of considerable merit, and together contain the records of 20,382 deliveries.

Shortly after he left the Hospital Shekleton retired from practice owing to ill-health, and he died, aged 78, at his residence in Upper Leeson Street on July 26th, 1867. While Master, Shekleton had published a paper in which he advocated the operation of Cæsarean section for certain cases of

[1] 'Com. Report,' 1856, p. 11.
[2] 19 and 20 Vict., Cap. 110.
[3] 'Reports B. S.'
[4] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 274.
[5] Sinclair and Johnston.
[6] McClintock and Hardy.

difficult delivery in preference to the usual method of delivery by craniotomy.[1] He recorded the case of a patient on whom he was anxious to perform the operation, but he gave way to the advice of several former Masters in favour of the older method. During the seven years of his mastership there were 13,748 women delivered in the Hospital with 163 deaths, and 551 women were treated in the "chronic" wards, as the wards for the diseases of women were called.

At the meeting of the Board at which McClintock was elected Master, Sir Frederick Shaw, the Recorder of Dublin, again brought forward the consideration of the method of election of the Governors. The practice still persisted of those assistants who looked forward to the Mastership paying the subscriptions of those who were elected Governors. The Recorder moved "that at all future elections the candidates be called before the Board and required to pledge their word of honour that they have not directly or indirectly contributed towards the expense of making any new Governor, and that any candidate who shall have so contributed be deemed ineligible." The motion was lost by four votes.

The method of the election of the Governors was at the time exciting a good deal of attention, and the Commissioners who had recently inspected the Hospital made the suggestion in their report that the number of Governors should be unlimited, and that the subscription necessary to qualify for that honour should be considerably reduced. The former of these suggestions was in contravention to the charter, and as the latter was calculated to reduce the income of the Hospital the Governors took no action in the matter at the time, but later they addressed a long report to the Lord Lieutenant dealing with the whole subject. They pointed out that no alteration could be made in the number of the Governors unless the charter was altered, and any attempt to do this would be likely to shake the confidence of the public in the management of the Hospital, a management which the Commissioners admitted had been attended with excellent results. Though the method of the election of the Governors was open to some criticism, they suggested that in practice it worked well. The assistants were carefully chosen from among qualified physicians and surgeons who held the diploma of the Hospital. These assistants had to serve three years in the Hospital, and the Master had to be chosen from among those who held the subordinate post, so that only three out of every seven assistants could hope to become Masters. This, together

[1] Shekleton.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 183.

with the number of *ex-officio* Governors on the Board, made it very improbable that any individual could secure his election as Master by subscribing for Governors, especially as it was the usage for no Governor to vote at an election till he had been at least two years on the Board.[1] The Governors expressed themselves willing, if it was thought right, to reduce the subscription to £50 for life, and £5 for annual Governors, and this reduction was subsequently made at the meeting on November 6th, 1857. It would no doubt have been better had the Governors adopted the principle involved in the suggestion of the Recorder, but this was a reform that was reserved for later years.

McClintock began his duties as Master by advocating several important sanitary reforms. On May 4th, 1855, the Governors accepted an estimate for the erection of the first water-closets, and this necessitated a complete reorganisation of the drains of the house. McClintock gave much care and thought to the carrying out of these improvements, and on August 3rd, 1855, a special vote of thanks was passed by the Board "to the Master for the vast improvements he has caused to be made in the sewerage of the Hospital and in the matters connected with its sanitary arrangements."[2]

McClintock had an eye to the beautiful as well as the useful, and it was he who suggested that an oval grass plot should be substituted for the gravel patch in front of the Hospital. Later on he suggested that gas should be introduced into the wards, and that one large burner should be placed under the opening of the ventilating shaft so as to ensure a proper draught of air from the wards. He also recommended that the wooden "architraves" which supported the curtains that separated the beds in the wards should be removed, the curtain rods only being left to support the curtains. Iron bedsteads also were introduced into some of the wards instead of the old wooden ones. Although much was done, much was left for future workers, and it was not till 1873 that the "large ash-pit at the West end, which receives all the soil of the hospital"[3] was removed.

On December 29th, 1856, Mrs. Feinaigle, who on December 1st, 1838, had succeeded Miss Cooke as matron, resigned her office after a service of eighteen years in the Hospital, and in February following Mrs. Carey was appointed her successor. The Governors granted Mrs. Feinaigle a pension of £45 a year for life, and appointed the new matron at a salary of £50 a year, to be

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 112.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 96.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 506.

increased to £60 at Mrs. Feinaigle's death. It was not till December 14th, 1874, that Mrs. Carey became entitled to this increase. The duties of the Matron remained purely domestic, and she had almost nothing to say to the management of the nurses or patients.

About this time the Hospital was fortunate in receiving from several distinguished foreigners very high tributes to the excellence of its work. In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1854, Dr. William Daniel Moore read an extract from the report of Professor Levy, of Copenhagen,[1] who had been sent over by the Government of Denmark to investigate the system of obstetric teaching in London and Dublin. After speaking of the London Hospitals, where he found great deficiencies in the opportunities for the study of midwifery, the Professor goes on to say—"as an extremely interesting contrast I now rejoice to be able to conduct the reader to Dublin, where we find not only one of the largest and best lying-in institutions in Europe, but where at the same time instruction forms an essential part of the working of the obstetric establishments."

In March, 1851, Dr. F. H. Arneth, an ex-assistant of the great Lying-in Hospital of Vienna, visited Dublin in the course of a tour of study of the obstetric practice in different countries. On his return home in 1853 he published a volume containing the observations he had made in the different places visited. Speaking of Dublin Dr. Arneth says[2] "one of the chief attractions of the Dublin School is the great lying-in hospital, which in respect to the number of deliveries is certainly inferior to that in Vienna, but about equals the Parisian Maternité and the Prague Institution. The Dublin School of Midwifery is properly speaking the only one of importance in Great Britain, since all others are arranged on the principle of sending the pupils to attend the women in their own homes; but it need scarcely be mentioned how insufficient such a plan is, and how small a number of pupils can be instructed compared with what can be taught in a well-arranged lying-in hospital. The advantages which Dublin thus possesses constantly attract English and American students who resort to it for the prosecution of their obstetric studies." In another part of his book Dr. Arneth gives a table comparing the average mortality in the three largest lying-in hospitals in Europe for the years 1828 to 1849, both inclusive. In the Maternité of Paris this was 4·18 per cent., in the Vienna Lying-in Hospital it was 5·35 per cent., and in the Dublin Lying-in Hospital 1·34 per cent.

[1] 'H. C. Report,' 1854, p. 195.

[2] Arneth.

Unfortunately an accident prevented the Rotunda being able to record among its pupils the great Semmelweis, who tells us that he contemplated spending some time "at the great Lying-in Hospital of Dublin."[1] His unexpected appointment as assistant in the Vienna Hospital, in March, 1847, compelled him to abandon the project, and the strenuous life which his great discovery of the cause of puerperal fever involved him in prevented him from again entertaining the idea.

At the charter meeting of the Board on November 6th, 1857, the Master proposed that the House Committee should be requested to take into consideration "the best way of marking the centennial anniversary of the hospital," and though this resolution was carried at the Board nothing further seems to have come of it. McClintock himself did something, for at the opening meeting of the twentieth session of the Dublin Obstetrical Society, which was held in the Hospital during that year, he gave an account of the history and progress of the Hospital in his inaugural address.[2] Centenary celebrations were not then as much in vogue as they are at present, and the interesting occasion was allowed to slip by without even a meeting of the Governors to commemorate it.

When the Medical Act[3] of 1858 was passed, it was found that no mention was made in it of the diploma in midwifery granted by the Hospital, and no provision was made for its registration. On January 18th, 1859, the Governors decided to petition the General Council of Medical Education and Registration on the subject, asking that those who obtained this diploma previous to the passing of the Act might be registered as duly qualified in midwifery. The Governors pointed out that owing to the general recognition by medical institutions of this diploma as a sufficient qualification in midwifery very few of those who obtained it sought any other qualification in this branch of medicine, and that in consequence there were many persons "heretofore duly qualified and now practising midwifery under the said diploma who are not entitled to be registered in respect of it." The prayer of the petition was not granted, indeed, it is doubtful if it was competent for the Council to grant it under the provisions of the Act, and though the diploma of the Hospital is still much sought for, it has never been included among the registrable qualifications. Subsequently in 1864, the Poor Law Commissioners of Ireland decided to recognise the diploma "as a qualification in Midwifery, but not as a medical qualification."[4]

[1] Sinclair, p. 48.
[2] McClintock.
[3] Vict. xxi and xxii, Cap. 90.
[4] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 299.

CHAPTER XVI

JOHN DENHAM AND GEORGE JOHNSTON

McClintock retired from office at the completion of his seven years' mastership on November 1st, 1861, and on the same day John Denham, who had been associated with him as assistant under Charles Johnson, was elected Master. Though McClintock ceased to be Master, he did not cease to take an active interest in the welfare of the Hospital, and on February 7th, 1862, he was elected a Life Governor, in which capacity, till his death on October 21st, 1881, he continued by his advice and by his pen to prove himself its warm friend and advocate. He was a prolific writer on medical subjects, and, beside the report of the Hospital which he published with Hardy, he contributed many articles to the medical papers. In 1863 he published a volume of clinical memoirs on the diseases of women,[1] which one of the reviewers described as a book which "is at the same time an acquisition to medical literature and to the established renown of the Dublin School."[2] In 1876–1878 he edited for the New Sydenham Society 'Smellie's Treatise on Midwifery,'[3] a work which is enriched with copious notes from the full storehouse of the editor's experience.

John Denham, the new Master, had graduated as M.D. in the University of Edinburgh in July, 1831, reading a thesis, "*De Rheumatismo acuto.*" He also held the qualification of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. In July, 1861, he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, but did not seek further honours from that corporation, being elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1863. For some years he lectured on anatomy and physiology in the Park Street School of Medicine, and from 1850 till he was appointed Master he taught midwifery in the Carmichael School.[4]

[1] McClintock, 'Diseases of Women.'

[2] 'Med. Times and Gazette,' 16, v, 1863.

[3] McClintock, 'Smellie.'

[4] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 421.

THE SMYLY WARD, IN THE PLUNKET CAIRNES HOSPITAL.

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While McClintock was Master there was a very distinct falling off in the number of women delivered in the Hospital. Between the years 1854 and 1861 only 9181 women were delivered, as compared with 13,741 in the previous seven years. Unfortunately we do not find a corresponding reduction in the number of deaths, for in McClintock's time 229 women died in the Hospital compared with 167 during the previous period while Shekleton was Master.[1] As these figures include all the deaths in the Hospital, we are not able to say how many of them were caused by puerperal fever, but there can be no doubt that the increased mortality was in a large measure due to the prevalence of that disease. Overcrowding cannot be accepted as an explanation of this high death-rate as it was in the time of Labatt, when the total number of deliveries in the seven years reached the huge figure of 21,867. The true explanation, no doubt, is to be found in the increased activity of the students, the more frequent examinations offering greater opportunities for the infection of the patients. While Denham was Master things went from bad to worse. The number of patients fell to 7786, while the number of deaths rose to 265, giving the terrible mortality of 3·40 per cent.

In 1863 an outbreak of puerperal fever involved the closing of the Hospital for some time in order to have the wards thoroughly cleaned and painted, and during this time the Governors made arrangements to have the patients treated at their own homes, and, while under treatment, supplied with food and medicine at the cost of the Hospital. At this time also three baths were bought for the Hospital, and the beds in the labour wards were supplied with "curled hair pillows and bolsters." In spite of these changes, three years later, in 1866, there occurred a further outbreak of fever, and the Hospital had again to be closed. On this occasion the Governors made the rule that no dogs or poultry were to be kept in the Hospital, and that the nurses were to wear washing gowns when on duty in the wards.[2] To encourage cleanliness, a rule was made that all the nurses' washing was to be done at the expense of the Hospital, and the Master was directed to visit the wards both night and morning to see that these regulations were carried out. In the following year further efforts were made to improve the ventilation of the wards, and iron gratings were inserted in the floors of the corridors in order to produce a current of air through the house. A hot-water system was also introduced into the Hospital, so that each patient might have a hot

[1] 'Kennedy,' p. 31.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 284.

bath on admission. In spite of all this, and in spite of the fact that the number of patients admitted while Denham was Master was less than it had been during the tenure of office of any other Master since Rock, yet the death-rate rose to the unprecedented figure of 3·40 per cent. Small wonder that some began to feel doubts as to the wisdom of continuing the work of the Hospital on its former basis.

In October, 1866, Dr. Telford,[1] one of the assistants, described an outbreak of puerperal fever that had occurred in the Hospital during the previous April, when sixteen out of the seventeen patients attacked had died. Such results as these were bound to attract public notice, and in the following year Denis Phelan, the Secretary of the Board of Superintendence of the Dublin Hospitals, published a paper in which he made a vigorous attack on the whole system of lying-in hospitals.[2] Phelan gave statistical tables comparing the number of women who died during the puerperium under various conditions, such as hospital treatment in various places, general rates for cities and towns, and the rates of extern maternities which undertook the treatment of women in their own homes. From such figures he was able to show that the death-rate was much higher in the lying-in hospitals than under any of the other conditions. This difference Phelan attributed to puerperal fever, which, when once introduced into the wards of a lying-in hospital, spread like a scourge among the patients. He urged that there was only one remedy for this evil—to limit the number of those admitted to hospital as far as possible, and to give extern attendance to all who could be treated in their own homes.

This paper by Phelan appears to have attracted very little attention. At all events it did not lead to any immediate action on the part of the Governors, and no special effort was made to develop the extern maternity. The number of women attended in this department did, however, rise considerably, for we learn from the report of the Board of Superintendence that in the year ending March 31st, 1867, there were only 36 extern labour cases attended, while in the following year the number had risen to 209.[3] In this latter year 74 male and 37 female pupils attended the practice of the Hospital.

On October 28th, 1867, Evory Kennedy, an ex-Master and Governor of the Hospital, directed a letter to the Board of Governors which was read at

[1] Telford.
[2] Phelan.
[3] 'Report B.S.,' 1869, p. 5.

A CORRIDOR IN THE PLUNKET CAIRNES WING.

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the charter meeting on November 1st, 1867. This letter[1] opened with the following very serious charge against the Hospital: "the time has arrived in which, like all human institutions, progress and changing circumstances have produced such an influence upon it, that neither the intentions of the founder, the wants and just rights of the public, nor the claims of humanity, by securing the greatest preservation of life, are accomplished by its instrumentality." Kennedy then proceeds to justify this charge by showing that in the year 1818 there were 3539 women delivered in the Hospital, whereas in the year 1866 the number reached was only 1069. Furthermore, that when during his mastership the number of maternity patients had fallen below 2000, the Governors at his instigation had opened a ward for the treatment of diseases peculiar to women, and that since that time some 4000 such patients had been admitted to that ward. He maintained that had the development of this department of the Hospital's work increased, as the maternity practice diminished, very many more such patients might have been benefited. The diminution in the midwifery practice had not resulted from any action of the Governors, since all patients who applied at the Hospital were admitted, but the decrease was to be explained, partly by the competition of similar institutions, and partly by the growing belief that such patients recovered better in their own homes than they did in hospital. Kennedy said that they had failed as Governors in their trust in preserving the lives of the patients committed to their charge. They had failed "because the original plan and construction of the hospital was faulty, and because our great founder, Mosse, did not possess the power of divination, or foreseeing what the experience of the working of such an institution for many years could alone reveal, namely, that the congregating a number of lying-in women under the same roof engenders and spreads amongst them a disease, *sui generis*, and of the most fatal character."

Kennedy added that it was their duty as Governors to set about finding a remedy for this defect with all possible speed, and he suggested for their consideration the following proposals: The Governors were to build on the plateau at the northern end of the Square "thirty cottages 25 feet by 15 with avenues 20 feet intervening," and each of these cottages was to be fitted with three beds. The cottages were to be built "in the style of the cottage *orné*" or "Swiss Chalet," and each was to accommodate two patients and one nurse. By this scheme sixty beds would be available for maternity patients, which would be quite sufficient for the needs of the Hospital, and the patients

[1] Kennedy Letter.

in them would be treated under the best conditions of private practice. Along with this the extern maternity was to be developed as fully as possible under the personal supervision of the Master. The existing Hospital buildings were to be utilised for extending the gynæcological department, fitting up wards for the treatment of sick children, and in increasing the accommodation for both male and female pupils. The fees from these pupils were to be equally divided, one half going to the Master and the other to the Hospital.

When these very drastic changes were submitted to the Governors they decided, by a majority of thirteen votes to three, to express their unqualified opposition to them "as calculated to subvert the original intention of the founder of the institution, to impair its usefulness, and to injure the property situated in the district of the City in which the institution is situated."[1]

In the midst of these troubles Denham's mastership came to a close, and he was succeeded, on November 6th, 1868, by George Johnston, who had previously, in 1848, followed him as assistant to Robert Shekleton. Denham continued for many years to enjoy a large practice in Dublin, till at length, compelled by ill-health, he retired to live at Kingstown, where he died on January 21st, 1887, at the age of 81 years.

The new Master was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and had also studied medicine in Dublin, London and Paris. His family, of Scotch extraction, had settled in Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century, and his father, Andrew Johnston, had held the Chair of Midwifery in the School of the College of Surgeons from 1819 to 1823, having in 1817 been President of the College. In 1852, shortly after he had ceased to be assistant in the Rotunda, George Johnston had been admitted a licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and in 1863 he was elected a Fellow of that College.

On the new Master devolved the duty of defending the Hospital from the serious charges that were being brought against it. Kennedy was not prepared to submit to his defeat without further effort, and on March 13th and April 10th, 1869, he read to the Dublin Obstetrical Society an elaborate paper in which he opened up the whole subject of the hospital treatment of lying-in women.[2] In this paper he adduced a mass of statistics to show that the death-rate in large maternities was everywhere considerably higher than it was in small maternities, or among women delivered in their own homes.

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 363.

[2] 'Kennedy.'

He calculated that the death-rate in small maternities was 1 in 283⅔ women delivered, while in the Rotunda Hospital it was 1 in 31⅓; in other words, "8 out of 9 die, who should not; or the deaths ought to be reduced to one ninth of their present numbers."[1] Such a reduction would, he believed, follow the adoption of the suggestions he had put before the Governors in his letter.

This paper created a great sensation among the medical men of Dublin, and was discussed at the Society for eleven nights by seventeen physicians, many of whom read elaborate papers in criticism of both his facts and deductions. The report of this discussion occupies over 200 pages of the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science,'[2] and makes rather sorry reading in the light of our present knowledge. None of the speakers seem to have grasped the importance of the work done by Semmelweis in the Vienna Lying-in Hospital as far back as 1847, and published by him in October, 1860, in a work entitled 'Die Ætiologie der Begriff und die Prophylaxis des Kindbettfebers.'[3] Several of the speakers referred to this work, but it was generally in a deprecatory tone, and Denham told the meeting that he had been informed by Dr. Braun, of Vienna, "that the theory put forward by Dr. Semmelweis had been entirely upset during the last outbreak of puerperal fever."

George Johnston, who, on November 6th, 1868, had succeeded Denham as Master, tried to explain the high death-rate in the Rotunda Hospital on the grounds that in the cases of many women unsuccessful efforts had been made to deliver them before they were admitted to the Hospital, but he goes on to say: "No doubt we have had deaths from metria, but in almost all instances they were either victims of seduction, sent for the most part from the country away from their friends, to hide their shame under the shadow of the hospital, where among the many they might pass unnoticed, or others labouring under great distress of mind, without home, deserted by cruel, hardhearted husbands." In extension of this idea that "fretting" was a cause of puerperal fever, we find Johnston in several of his annual reports giving "mental distress" as a cause of death of patients.

Though none of the speakers were able to offer a satisfactory explanation of the figures brought forward by Kennedy, there was a general unanimity that his explanation of them was not wholly satisfactory, and that there was not sufficient evidence for believing that the remedy that he proposed would

[1] 'Kennedy,' p. 43.

[2] Vol xlviii, p 225, August and November, 1869

[3] 'Sinclair,' p 207

prove satisfactory. In the absence of demonstrative proof of the efficiency of this remedy, the members of the profession were slow to recommend its adoption, when that adoption would involve the complete subversion of all their former practice and belief. Looking back now on this crisis through which the Hospital passed, we cannot but rejoice that Kennedy's scheme was rejected. Although we believe that he was perfectly correct in his contention that the death-rate in large maternities was much higher than in small ones, there is no doubt that he was wrong in attributing this increased mortality merely to their size, or, as he put it: "The generation and absorption of this contagion is in direct proportion to the number of parturient females cohabiting in a given number of feet of atmospheric space at their parturient period, or who breathe the same atmosphere when lying in."[1]

It must not be thought that the Rotunda Hospital was alone involved in this matter. The Rotunda, it is true, was the main object of Kennedy's solicitude, but every hospital in the Kingdom was involved, and Sir James Simpson[2] in Edinburgh was advocating a similar treatment for the general hospitals that Kennedy did for the Rotunda. Fortunately the dawn of a new light was at hand, for the work of Lister was about to revolutionise the practice, not only of the lying-in hospitals, but of the whole domain of medicine and surgery, and produce results undreamed of by our fathers.[3]

While the Hospital was thus on its public trial, and its very existence seemed threatened, the Governors were making every effort to improve its internal arrangements and management. Shortly after Denham had been appointed Master further improvements in the ventilation of the house were designed and carried out, the laundry in the Hospital was closed, and the washing was contracted for by the Heytesbury Female Convict Asylum at £160 a year.[4] Seven years later, on June 4th, 1869, the contract was transferred to the City Midnight Mission, at a reduction of twenty pounds a year. This removal of the laundry from the house was not only a benefit on hygienic grounds, but it effected also a considerable saving in money.

From November, 1868, to November, 1875, while George Johnston was Master, things appeared to improve slightly, there was a small increase in the number admitted, and the death-rate fell to 2·08 per cent. There is good reason to think that this improvement appeared greater than it really was,

[1] 'Kennedy,' p. 25.
[2] 'Simpson,' p. 221.
[3] 'Duncan,' p. 98.
[4] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 277.

THE IVEAGH WARD, IN THE PLUNKET CAIRNES HOSPITAL.

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for many patients left hospital to die shortly after, either in their own homes or in other hospitals. In 1869 increased accommodation was provided in the gynæcological wards, and the number of patients admitted to these wards, as well as the number attended in the extern maternity, increased considerably.

Shortly after Kennedy had failed in his endeavour to persuade either the Governors of the Hospital or the members of the Obstetrical Society to approve his plan for re-modelling the Hospital, he proposed that each ward in the existing building should be completely isolated. This he suggested should be done by closing the entrance to the wards from the corridors and erecting "flying galleries" on the outside of the house by which alone the wards could be entered. He brought this proposal before the Board at the charter meeting on February 4th, 1870, but as there was no seconder the matter was dropped. If one may judge by the tone of the discussion at the Obstetrical Society Kennedy was not on very good terms with the Master, and after this last effort he seems to have taken little part in the work of the Hospital.

On October 10th, 1873, an occurrence, happily unique in the annals of the Hospital, took place. Five days previously a woman, wife of a notorious quack named Mulvany, was delivered in one of the private wards of the Hospital. On the day in question, as Mulvany was making some disturbance in the ward the Master proceeded to turn him out, and Mulvany made a savage attack on the Master, knocking him down and striking him with a poker. Fortunately Johnston escaped without serious injury, and Mulvany was arrested. At the trial in the police court grave charges of neglect and ill-treatment were brought against the officials of the Hospital, but for these there seemed to be no foundation, and Mulvany was convicted of assault and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.[1] On October 25th the Governors held a special meeting to inquire into the charges made against the officers, and after careful investigation came to the conclusion "that no foundation whatever existed for the allegations of neglect." Six years later, after dangerously wounding his wife, Mulvany committed suicide.[2]

After he left the Rotunda Johnston went to live in 15, St. Stephen's Green North, where for some years he continued to practise. In 1880 and again in 1881 he was elected President of the King and Queen's College of Physicians. He died in his house in Stephen's Green at the age of 74 on March 7th, 1889.

[1] 'Medical Press and Circular,' 12, xi, 1873.

[2] *Ibid.*, 5, ii, 1875.

In 1863 Denham reported to the Board that a number of ladies, including Mrs. Denham, had formed a committee to collect money with which to establish a fund for the payment of car hire for the women leaving the Hospital.[1] So successful was this committee that three years later a sum of £843 had been collected and invested in ten of the Hospital debentures, at the yearly interest of £36 18*s.* 6*d.* This money was to be expended in paying for cabs for the patients when leaving hospital and for procuring clothing for such infants as require it. Subsequently the ladies' committee invested these debentures in the Governors, who undertook to pay the cab hire for the patients and to hand over the balance to the committee for the clothing fund. The Hospital owes much to this committee for the continued interest which its members have taken in the welfare of the institution and its patients. In 1870 a further welcome addition was made to the Hospital funds in a grant of £200 made by the Dublin Corporation. This sum was given on the application of Johnston and was continued each year till 1873, when it was increased to £300 a year.

There was one department of the Hospital that underwent extraordinary development about this time, but which we regret to say has not since maintained its progress. We have already spoken of the great services that were rendered to the Hospital by the Chapel in the early days of its existence, and how for many years considerable sums were added to the funds of the charity from this source. When the Rev. Benjamin Gibson succeeded the Rev. Ambrose Leet as chaplain, on November 1st, 1861, the Chapel was barely paying its way, but Gibson immediately set himself to work to restore the popularity of its services. In 1863 he submitted to the Governors a plan for re-arranging the pews so as to increase their accommodation and comfort. Even by that time he had so enlisted the sympathies of his congregation that he was able to assure the Governors that the suggested plan would be carried out without expense to the Hospital. In the following year Thomas M. Gresham, one of the congregation, offered to erect a stained glass window at the cost of £36 as well as contributing £15 for other improvements in the Chapel. In return for this generous offer he was, on May 6th, 1864, elected a Life Governor. Several times subsequently the Chapel was enriched by gifts of stained glass. Thus in 1865, and again in 1877, Maurice Brooks presented a window, and in 1875 a member of the congregation offered to erect a window as a memorial to the founder of the Hospital. In 1866 the Governors, finding that Gibson had been instrumental in collecting about

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 295.

THE NURSES' SITTING ROOM.

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£300 for chapel improvements, including a new organ, re-arranging the pews and other things, as well as having established a second service on each Sunday, decided that for the future his salary should be £150 a year instead of £100 as formerly. This increase in salary did not involve the Hospital in any new expense, as the receipts from the Chapel collections and pew rents more than paid for all the expenditure on both Chapel and chaplain. Gibson, however, was not satisfied with merely making the Chapel self-supporting, but aimed at making it assist in supporting the Hospital. With this view he invited the Archbishop of Dublin to preach a charity sermon in the Chapel on Sunday, October 23rd, 1864, at which the collection amounted to £66 3*s.* 0*d.* This was the beginning of a number of similar efforts which in the first ten years of his chaplaincy produced a sum of £1095 2*s.* 7*d.* for the benefit of the funds of the Hospital. When the Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund was started in 1874 Gibson was asked to join the Council, and on Sunday, November 15th, 1874, the first sermon in aid of that fund was preached in the Hospital Chapel. On February 5th, 1875, the Registrar reported to the Board that he had received a sum of £407 1*s.* 10*d.* as the share allocated to the Hospital on the division of the fund for the year. Gibson continued his services to the Hospital till February 4th, 1881, when he resigned owing to his having been appointed chaplain to the Mageough Home. In accepting this resignation the Governors passed a resolution expressing their regret at losing the services of so earnest and devoted a friend to the institution.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TRANSITION PERIOD. ATTHILL AND MACAN

Two candidates, Lombe Atthill and John Cronyn, presented themselves for election as successor to Johnston when his term of office ended on November 5th, 1875. Atthill, who was elected by a large majority, had been assistant to Shekleton from 1851 to 1854, and for some years before he became Master he had been gynæcologist to the Adelaide Hospital. We may look on his mastership as forming a connecting link between the old and the modern Rotunda, for though he had learned his midwifery in the old school, his recent training and experience made him sufficiently conversant with the new learning to feel the need for change in many things. He tells us in his 'Recollections'[1] that when he returned to the Hospital as Master, after an absence of twenty-one years, he found little change in the place, though during that time progress in the other Dublin hospitals had been considerable. Did we not know how impossible it is for some elderly men to assimilate new ideas, we might almost think that Johnston designedly maintained the existing conditions in the Hospital lest he should be compelled to acknowledge the truth of the accusations made against it by Evory Kennedy. All through his clinical reports—and he published one each year he was Master—we see Johnston attempting to justify the attitude which both the Governors and he had taken towards Kennedy, and strenuously endeavouring to prove, in spite of facts, that lying-in hospitals prevented rather than caused puerperal mortality.

Atthill, however, was a younger man, and his experience as a surgeon had given him some perception, even though it were an imperfect one, of the importance of those discoveries which were then revolutionising both medicine and surgery. In the debate at the Obstetrical Society in 1869 Atthill had spoken of the views of Semmelweis as matters that were worthy of consideration, and though it is probable that he did not really appreciate

[1] 'Atthill,' p. 169.

A NURSE'S BEDROOM.

what we mean by antiseptic surgery, yet he made some efforts towards adopting its principles. His gynæcological practice in the Adelaide Hospital had interested him greatly, and he seems to have been much more anxious to develop that part of the Rotunda than its maternity work. Shortly before he was appointed Master he had published in Dublin a small volume of clinical lectures on diseases peculiar to women, which in 1876 reached its fourth edition.[1] Manuals of gynæcology were fewer then than they are now, and Atthill's work met with considerable success, and no doubt attracted many students to the Hospital.

One of the first things that engaged the attention of the new Master was the necessity for a thorough overhauling of the building. There was much to be done, and there was little money to do it with. The Governors, after much persuasion from Atthill, decided that the work must be done, and done at once, whether there were funds in hand or not. The auxiliary hospital, which up to 1869 had been largely reserved for gynæcological patients, underwent extensive improvements, and a new out-patient department and students' rooms were built. Much work, too, was done in improving the sanitary arrangements of the Hospital, and in providing more facilities for washing both for patients and the attendants. Three large and four small wards were fitted up in the auxiliary hospital, containing in all thirty beds, and one of the small wards was reserved exclusively for the reception of those patients about to undergo the operation of ovariotomy.[2] As a result of these changes, Atthill was able to report that during his first year as Master 314 women had been admitted to the chronic wards as compared with 214 during the previous year under Johnston, and that the operation of ovariotomy had been performed twice, unfortunately with unsuccessful results.

One of the most important advances made by Atthill was the regulation of the extern maternity. For a number of years this department of the Hospital had been worked in a spasmodic and unsatisfactory manner. At times when there was much sickness in the house the Masters had encouraged women to allow themselves to be attended in their own homes, but when things improved in the Hospital the extern maternity was again neglected. During Johnston's mastership there had been a steady growth in the number of women attended in their own homes, so that in the year ending November, 1875, this number reached the respectable total of 275.

Atthill, however, determined to make much greater use of the extern

[1] Atthill Lect.

[2] 'Atthill,' 1st Report.

maternity, recognising its importance for teaching purposes, and probably also hoping by means of it to be able to extend the gynæcological work of the Hospital. On April 13th, 1876, he submitted to the Board a scheme for this purpose, which, after some opposition, was adopted.[1] According to this scheme a resident pupil was to be selected, by competitive examination, from among those who had completed their full course of instruction in the Hospital, but who had not obtained any registrable qualification. The pupil so selected was to be designated the "Resident Clinical Clerk," and was to hold office for six months at a salary at the rate of £30 a year. Though the selection of the clinical clerk was to be made by examination, yet his appointment, like that of the assistant masters, required the sanction of the Board. While in office the clinical clerk was forbidden to attend any other hospital or to take any part in anatomical work or dissection. His duties included the keeping of an accurate register of all the patients attended at their own homes, and such patients he was either to attend himself or see that they were duly attended by the pupils of the Hospital. He was to visit these patients daily for a week succeeding their confinement, and was to report all cases of difficulty or danger to the Master or his assistants. He was also to keep an accurate register of the patients treated in "the chronic wards."

On April 13th, 1876, the first examination was held by the Master, with the assistance of Dr. McClintock and the assistants, Dr. Macan and Dr. Purefoy, and on May 5th the Master reported that Mr. Henry Battersby had been selected clinical clerk.[2] As a result of these efforts the Master was able to state in his first report that the number of women attended in their own homes during the year had risen to 638.

The structural alterations and improvements in the buildings, undertaken by the Governors at the instigation of Atthill, involved an outlay of over £2000, but in their report for the year ending March 31st, 1877, the Governors were able to state "that through the liberality of the public, funds have been supplied to them for the purpose." A sum of £568 1*s.* 11*d.* was raised by a bazaar held in the Rotunda rooms at the previous Christmas time, and at their meeting on February 28th, 1877, the Governors passed a special vote of thanks to those ladies who had so successfully managed that undertaking.

In the nursing of the Hospital Atthill attempted some improvements, but in this department he did not succeed in effecting any very important change. Though the value of having trained nurses in hospitals had been demonstrated

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 590.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 596.

THE PROBATIONERS OF THE HOSPITAL, 1912.

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by the experiment made in Steevens' Hospital in 1866 in connection with the Institution for Training Nurses, founded by Archbishop Trench,[1] still it was not till several years later that this benefit was extended to the Rotunda. In 1873 the last of the old wooden bedsteads, which had served the Hospital since it foundation, were replaced by iron ones, and the use of straw for bedding was entirely discontinued.[2] This was a decided advance, for though the old oak bedsteads were sound and clean, and new straw was used for each patient, yet the canvas cases which contained the straw were often far from clean.

The nursing staff at this time consisted of the matron, who had a general charge of the domestic affairs of the House, but no experience as a nurse, the head midwife, who received a salary of £45 a year, a head nurse in the Auxiliary Hospital, and a varying number of nurses and female pupils, who attended the patients under the direction of the head nurses and the medical staff. The head midwife, Mrs. Maria Magrath,[3] who died in October, 1878, had served the Hospital for twenty-eight years, and the head nurse in the Auxiliary Hospital, Mrs. Margaret Berry, had been superannuated with a gratuity of £5, "a half year's wages," after forty years' service, just before Atthill was appointed Master. The regular nurses received a salary of £10 a year, and were allowed to have their washing done at the Hospital expense. They were expected to diet themselves, to sleep in the wards with the patients, and apparently to be on duty whenever their services were required.

It is not surprising that under these circumstances the class of women who sought employment was not very high; some were quite illiterate, and none of them were required to show evidence of any special training or aptitude for their position. On February 7th, 1879, the Board decided that for the future the minimum wage of the nurses was to be £12 a year, and in the following October it was agreed to divide the nurses into three classes, the members of each class receiving respectively £12, £14, and £16 a year. By this scheme, Athill tells us, he hoped to get rid of some of the more inefficient of the nurses. The selection of the nurses for the various classes was left entirely to the Master, and as he made his selection quite regardless of the length of service of the nurse, many of the older and least efficient resigned, considering themselves slighted by not being placed in the first class.

[1] 'Dock,' vol. iii, p. 87.
[2] 'Minutes,' vol. vii, p. 509.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 37.

Atthill tells us, too, that he was the first to introduce the custom of making the nurses wear washing gowns while on duty in the wards. He may have been the first to enforce this, but the regulation, as we have seen, was adopted by the Board as far back as 1866. In 1880 Mrs. Carey, the Matron, resigned after twenty-four years' service, and on June 18th she was succeeded by Mrs. Elizabeth Courtney.

In spite of the many improvements introduced by Atthill, the mortality in the Hospital was still distinctly high. Puerperal fever still caused many deaths, and though "fretting" disappears from among the actual causes of death, it is still mentioned as a predisposing factor.

During the first three years of his mastership Atthill published each year a clinical report of the Hospital, from which we learn that of the 3258 women delivered during that period sixty-eight died, giving a mortality of 2·08 per cent.[1]

During the last four years he was in office no clinical reports were published, but we are able to form a fairly accurate estimate of his results from the returns issued by the Board of Superintendence of the Dublin Hospitals. Taking the whole seven years he was in office we estimate his mortality at 1·70 per cent., a rate which, though much lower than it had been under McClintock, Denham, or Johnston, was never exceeded by the total rate of any other Master since the foundation. There was some slight tendency to an increase in the work in each department of the Hospital, most marked in the extern maternity and in the gynæcological work.

After he retired from the mastership Atthill continued for some years in active practice, and as a Governor he took a keen interest in the welfare of the Hospital. It was, however, in the College of Physicians that the full benefit of his energy and activities was felt. In 1857 he had been admitted a licentiate, and in 1860 elected a fellow of the College; he subsequently served it as Registrar, Censor, Treasurer, and Examiner in Midwifery. In 1888 and 1889, after he left the Hospital, he was elected President of the College, and after that acted for nearly fourteen years as representative of the College on the General Medical Council. In 1903 Atthill retired from all professional work, but lived for several years to enjoy his well-earned rest. He died suddenly on September 14th, 1910, at the age of eighty-four.

On November 3rd, 1882, Atthill's term of office as Master of the Hospital ended, and Arthur Vernon Macan, the only candidate for the post, was unanimously elected his successor. Macan had been appointed assistant in

[1] 'Atthill,' 1st, 2nd and 3rd Report.

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July, 1873, under Johnston, and had continued in office during the first year that Atthill was Master. Before he had joined the Rotunda he had spent some years abroad studying in various schools on the continent of Europe, and in the interval between his assistancy and mastership he was gynæcologist to the City of Dublin Hospital and lecturer in midwifery in the Carmichael School.[1]

As a result of his early Continental training Macan was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the new learning, and fully alive to the importance of antiseptics in all the departments of surgery and midwifery. In this he was far ahead of most of his colleagues in the profession in Dublin, especially those whose seniority seemed to command respect. Macan, however, was no worshipper of authority, and as he never lost an opportunity of advocating his views he and those who followed his lead were treated with scant courtesy at medical meetings, where they were contemptuously referred to as "the German band."[2] But Macan was a good fighter, and, advocating a good cause, he had little difficulty in holding his own, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the methods for which he pleaded justified in the fullest possible way.

Atthill had introduced into the Hospital a rule that the students and nurses should wash their hands with carbolic soap before they examined the patients, and later on a vessel with carbolic solution (1–40) was left beside the basins into which the pupils were expected to dip their hands after washing. These innovations, though in the right direction, did not satisfy Macan; and indeed the results that Atthill had obtained were ample proof of the insufficiency of the methods he adopted. The first thing that Macan did was to make a rule absolutely forbidding any student to attend the practice of the Hospital at the same time that he was taking out dissections. He interviewed each student who entered the Hospital, and personally explained to him what he considered the proper way to disinfect the hands, and the necessity for thoroughly doing so. He also had the following notice put up in each ward: "No one shall make a vaginal examination without having first washed his hands in carbolic acid solution, using a nail-brush carefully. By order. Arthur V. Macan, Master of the Hospital. November 1882. The Master feels confident that pupils of the Hospital will assist him in seeing that this rule is strictly carried out." Everyone, whether nurse, student, or medical officer of the Hospital, who examined a patient had to enter his or her name on the patient's bed card, so that if she should afterwards prove to have been infected the source of infection might be traced. Macan also taught

[1] 'Cameron Hist.,' p. 525. [2] D. N. B.

and encouraged external palpation as a means of diagnosis instead of vaginal examinations.

In addition to these regulations for the students many improvements in the nursing of the patients were introduced with the view of lessening the risk of infection subsequent to delivery. On April 15th, 1884, Macan read to the Obstetric Section of the Academy of Medicine in Ireland the report of the work in the Hospital for the year ending November, 1883,[1] when he had the satisfaction of recording that out of 1090 women confined in the Hospital only six had died from any cause, a mortality of 0·55 per cent. Macan further assured his audience that he had not transferred a single puerperal patient to any other hospital during the year, and that the only woman who had left the Hospital during the year before she was quite well had, he ascertained, since made a complete recovery. Such a result had not been attained in the Hospital for many years past, if ever before, and since that time the propriety of maintaining the Hospital has never been questioned. In subsequent years Macan's results were not always so good; but in spite of the fact that the number of patients admitted steadily increased year by year, yet during the last eighteen months of his mastership there was not one death among the maternity patients from any kind of sepsis.[2]

To Macan, too, is due the practice of regularly taking and recording the temperature of the patients, and using as a criterion of the health of the Hospital the number of patients who had absolutely normal temperatures and pulses during the puerperal state. The use of the clinical thermometer had been introduced during the time of his predecessor, but was discouraged by Atthill, as he believed that taking the temperature worried the patients and made them ill. This criterion, introduced by Macan, has been greatly developed by subsequent Masters, and the health of the Hospital is now judged by the rate of morbidity much better than it was previously by the rate of mortality, while the present percentage of morbidity compares very favourably with the percentage of mortality in former years.

Besides these developments in the maternity department of the Hospital, Macan devoted much time and energy to improving the work in operative gynæcology. He was a careful if slow operator, and owing to his extensive reading brought to his work all the knowledge that at the time was available to the profession. On January 31st, 1890, he read to the Section of Obstetrics of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Ireland an account of the

[1] 'Macan,' 1st Report.

[2] 'Smyly,' 1st Report.

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first successful case of Cæsarean section performed in the Hospital.[1] The operation was done on August 5th, 1889, and Macan tells us at that time he had never seen the operation performed. His patient was sufficiently recovered to be allowed up out of bed on the twentieth day after the operation.

It would be difficult to give too much praise to Macan for the work he did in the Hospital during the seven years he was Master. The long roll of Masters who preceded him contains no name more worthy of honour, for if Mosse built the Hospital, Macan saved its existence. It is true that the principles of antiseptic surgery were much better understood at the time he was appointed Master than they were in the time of any of his predecessors, but we must remember that Macan was advocating principles that were openly scoffed at by most of his senior colleagues. The changes in methods which he introduced had to come if the Hospital was to continue, but the time of their coming might have been considerably delayed had a less strong man been appointed in his stead. His work, too, was done almost altogether by himself, for the freedom with which he expressed and defended his views made for him many enemies among the older men of the profession. If he was helped in his work it was mainly by the students and his assistants, to both of whom he appealed as to comrades in arms in their common war on disease. This attitude towards the students, now so common, was then exceptional, and Macan in adopting it added greatly to his resources. Both in the Rotunda, and afterwards as King's Professor of Midwifery in the School of Physic, Macan was the student's friend. He himself to the end of his life remained both physically and mentally a young man, and young men always felt at home in his company. The loss of his wife and domestic troubles somewhat embittered the close of his term as Master, and when he retired from office the Governors adopted the unusual course of omitting to elect him a member of the Board of the Hospital. To the honour of the Hospital this omission was rectified in 1904, when he was unanimously elected both a Governor and one of the Consulting Gynæcologists.

On July 24th, 1889, just before he left the Rotunda, Macan was elected King's Professor of Midwifery in the School of Physic, a post that carried with it a position on the staff of Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital. In October, 1902, and again in 1903, the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians elected him their President. Many other honours were conferred on him by his professional brethren, and he died universally regretted by them on September 26th, 1908.

[1] Macan, Cæsarean Section.

CHAPTER XVIII

MODERN PERIOD: DR. SMYLY, DR. PUREFOY, DR. TWEEDY, AND DR. JELLETT

All those who have filled the office of Master since Macan vacated it on November 1st, 1889, are still, we are glad to say, active members of the Board of Governors. Under their care the Hospital has made great progress, not only maintaining its high position, but even making that position higher than ever before. To each of these Masters is due all praise and honour for the work he has done, and for the splendid position the Hospital has achieved, but we must leave to a future historian the duty of apportioning to each the individual credit. In this chapter we propose briefly to recount in chronological order these changes and advances, making no effort to compare one period with another.

At the charter meeting on the first Friday in November, 1889, five ex-assistants presented themselves as candidates for the mastership, and of these William Josiah Smyly was elected by a large majority. Dr. Smyly had been assistant to Atthill from 1877 to 1880, and at the time of his election was gynæcologist to the City of Dublin Hospital. He tells us, in his first report,[1] that when he took office in the Rotunda he found the health of the Hospital so satisfactory that he did not feel justified in making any immediate change in its administration. There were, however, many defects in the structural and sanitary arrangements which he set himself at once to remedy, and in the beginning of the year following his appointment an extensive contract for necessary sanitary work was agreed to by the Board. It was not possible to direct one's attention to such matters without finding much in the old Hospital that required change in order to adapt it to modern requirements, and on January 24th, 1890, the house committee submitted a

[1] Smyly, 'First Report.'

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detailed report to the Board, dealing with the whole subject of the repair of the Hospital.

In connection with the maternity building the committee pointed out the urgent need there was for better accommodation for the nurses, for the provision of labour wards as distinct from lying-in wards, and for bathrooms and lavatories for both the patients and staff. The custom up to that time was that each large ward should in turn be used as a labour ward, until it had received its full complement of patients, when the next empty ward was used in a similar manner. This plan in the old days had considerable advantages, since it enabled each ward in turn to be thoroughly disinfected immediately previous to the admission of the patients. With the disappearance of puerperal fever from the Hospital, and the regular maintenance of strict cleanliness, this advantage had in a measure lessened, and the disadvantage of having the lying-in patients constantly disturbed by the admission of fresh labour patients became more obvious. The committee recommended that the small wards, then used as private or isolation wards, should be converted into admission or labour wards, from which the patients would be transferred during convalescence.

With regard to the accommodation for the nurses it could hardly be said to exist. Staff nurses, nurses in training, and ward maids all had to sleep in the wards with the patients, while there was no dining-room accommodation. The Board of Superintendence of the Dublin Hospitals had frequently referred to this want, and further neglect of their recommendations was likely to endanger the parliamentary grant. The committee, while pointing out the importance of cleanliness, stated that this was very difficult to carry out efficiently in a hospital which had no bathroom.[1]

The auxiliary hospital as well as the main building was in need of extensive repair, and the committee estimated that the essential improvements would require an expenditure of over £2000. The Board at once agreed to these proposals, and referred them to the committee to obtain plans, and to appeal to the public for money to carry out the work. The collection of the money proved a matter of some difficulty, and the Master had to wait some years before his plans were fully realised.

There were, however, other matters which demanded immediate attention, one of the most important of which was the organisation of the nursing arrangements. At the charter meeting of the Board on February 6th, 1891,[2]

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. viii, p. 349.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 392.

a special committee was nominated to consider and to report on the whole arrangements of the Hospital. This committee met several times, and on May 8th, 1891, presented to the Board a most important report. There were two recommendations in this report, the adoption of which has profoundly modified the subsequent history of the Hospital. The committee recommended that the office of matron should be abolished, a lady superintendent of nurses and a housekeeper being appointed in her stead, and that the accommodation for nurses and pupils, as well as the auxiliary hospital, should be completely remodelled and extended. With regard to the latter recommendation the Governors referred the matter to the house and building committee, with instructions that professional advice should be obtained as to the best method of carrying out the suggestions. The Board further decided to inform the matron that her office was to cease, and that no reappointment would be made to it at the next annual charter meeting in November. On August 21st, 1891, the committee was authorised to advertise for a Lady Superintendent for the Hospital at a salary of £80 a year and rations, and also for a Housekeeper at a salary of £30 a year. Sixty-six applications were received for the post of lady superintendent, and out of these, on October 9th, 1891, the committee unanimously recommended Miss Sara E. Hampson to the Governors, who then appointed her the first Lady Superintendent of the Hospital. Miss Hampson was one of the first group of Nightingale nurses trained at St. Thomas's Hospital, London,[1] and to her tact and judgment is largely due the great success which attended the inauguration of the new nursing system in the Hospital.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the change thus effected. Gradually the old nurses of the staff resigned or were pensioned off, and their places taken by women who had received a full hospital training, so that in quite a short time the whole nursing establishment was remodelled on a modern basis. Mrs. Courtney, who had held the office of matron since June, 1880, was granted by the Governors a year's salary as a gratuity on her leaving the Hospital in November after eleven years' service. Miss Hampson continued as Lady Superintendent till November, 1896, when on her resignation she was succeeded by the present holder of the office, Miss Lucy Ramsden, who for some time previously had been staff sister in charge of the gynæcological department of the Hospital.[2]

Till the accommodation for the nurses was completed they were given the

[1] 'Dock,' vol. iii, p. 95.

[2] 'Minutes,' vol. ix, p. 123.

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pay wards to sleep in, and permitted to use the board room as a dining hall. Later on, a room in the Rotunda buildings was converted into a sleeping apartment for them, and when the new wing was built the two large wards in the top story of that building were appropriated to their use. So successful was this venture that in the report for the year ending March 31st, 1893, the Governors were able to state that the nursing department of the Hospital was then practically self-supporting. A little later the present nurses' dining hall was fitted up, mainly through the liberality and energy of one of the Governors, Samuel Adair, after whom it was named the "Adair Hall." This is only one of the many good offices for which the Hospital is indebted to Adair, not the least of which is the admirable summary of its history which he published in 1892.[1]

The new labour wards, opened in 1892, were found to be a great improvement on the old system. During the first year of his mastership Dr. Smyly had visited the more important lying-in hospitals of Europe, and the experience he gained in that way was freely placed at the disposal of the Governors, thus enabling them to effect the various improvements in a way which a large and varied experience had proved to be the best.

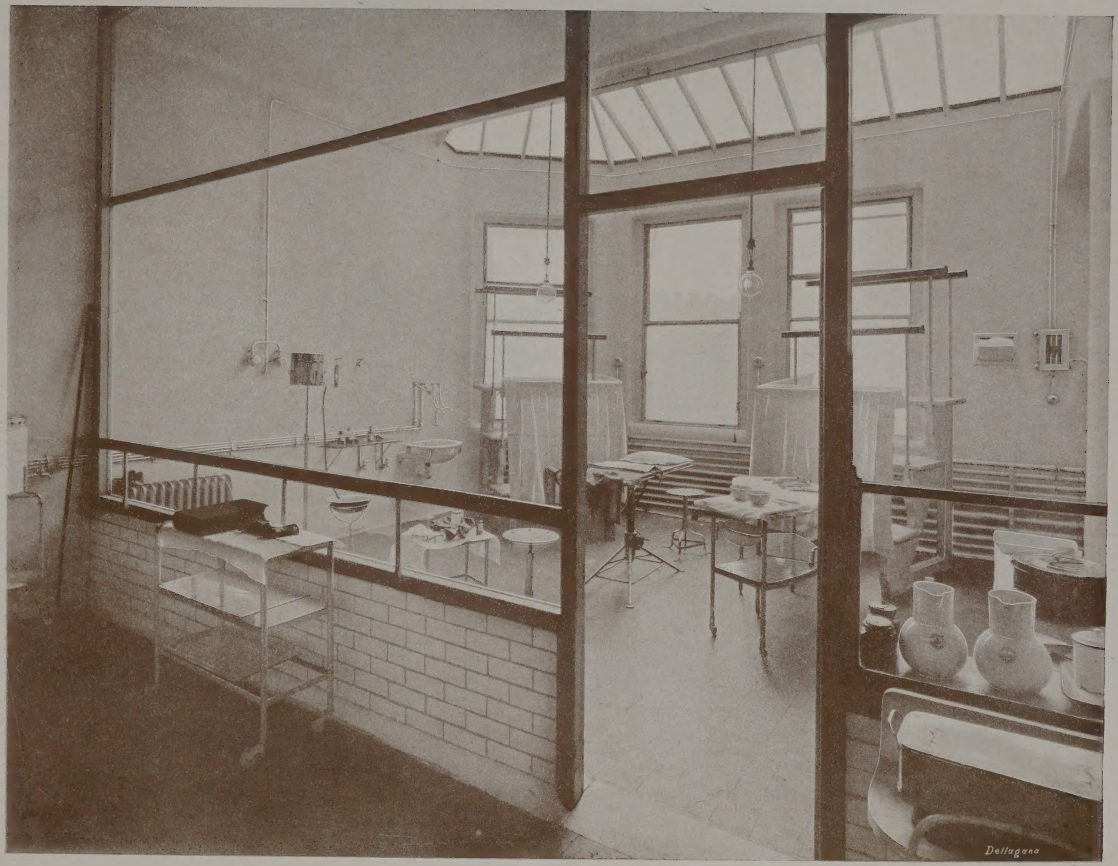
The completion of the plans suggested by the committee involved the building of a new wing to accommodate the operative and gynæcological department of the Hospital. On October 6th, 1892, the Governors accepted tenders for this new building amounting to £9600, but decided not to begin work till a sum of £5000 had been guaranteed towards the building fund. In two months' time this guarantee was complete, but new difficulties arose, and in the following March the Governors decided to postpone the building owing to the uncertainty of the future of the Hospital in consequence of the introduction into Parliament of the Government of Ireland Bill. It was not till November, 1893, that the agreement with the builder was signed, and after that the work was pushed on with the greatest activity. The Master and Mrs. Smyly were indefatigable in collecting funds for the building, and were instrumental in gathering large sums for this purpose. Thomas Plunket Cairns also proved himself a good friend, and in recognition of his generosity the Governors named the new wing the "Thomas Plunket Cairns Wing." On November 27th, 1895, the building was opened for the reception of patients, and at their next meeting the Governors passed the following well-merited vote of thanks: "that at this their first meeting after the opening of the new wing the Board of the Rotunda Hospital desire to express their very cordial appreciation and

[1] Adair.

deep sense of the work done by Dr. and Mrs. W. J. Smyly in furtherance of the improvement of the Hospital. It is chiefly owing to the untiring exertions of Dr. and Mrs. W. J. Smyly that the valuable additions to the Rotunda Hospital have been so successfully carried out."[1] A full description of the operation theatre in the building was given by Dr. Smyly in the 'British Medical Journal' for July 10th, 1897, and a detailed description of the whole building, with plans, was published by his successor, Dr. Purefoy, in his first report of the Hospital.[2]

Dr. Smyly was only able to enjoy for one year the new department he had done so much to create, and on November 6th, 1896, Richard Dancer Purefoy succeeded him as Master. The new Master succeeded to a heritage such as had fallen to the lot of none of his predecessors, and it seemed as if there was nothing left for him to do but to attend to its cultivation and development. Such was not, however, found to be the case, and he had plenty of scope in amplifying and increasing the work of the Hospital. In April, 1897, the growth of the external maternity department demanded increased attention, and a second clinical clerk was appointed to assist in that work, as well as to help in the new Gynæcological Hospital. Part of the duty of this new officer was the care of the pathological department, at the time a duty that did not involve any very extensive labour. The office of clinical clerk had undergone considerable changes since it was first started by Atthill in April, 1876. In 1879 the Governors decided to alter the regulation which limited the appointment to those pupils who did not hold a registrable qualification, and since that time the clinical clerk has always been a qualified practitioner. Subsequently, the salary attached to the office was raised, and now the position ranks second in importance only to that of Assistant Master. Shortly after the second clinical clerk was appointed, the Master announced to the Governors his willingness to erect and furnish a pathological laboratory for the Hospital, and the work in this laboratory has since become a most important adjunct to the Hospital.[3] For some time Dr. William C. Neville worked in this department, with much advantage to the Hospital, and on January 8th, 1904, he was officially appointed by the Board as Pathologist. Dr. Neville's death later in the year deprived the Hospital of a very valuable officer, and one whose name should be remembered with honour, not only for his work in the special department of pathology, but for his invention of the axis-traction forceps which bears his name. On January 13th, 1905, Dr.

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. ix, p. 64.
[2] 'Purefoy Reports.'
[3] 'Minutes,' vol. ix, p. 352.



THE OPERATING THEATRE.

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Robert J. Rowlette was appointed to succeed Dr. Neville, and he still continues to discharge the duties of that office.

In the spring of 1902, when the Midwives Bill was before Parliament, it was found that, though it was not proposed to extend that measure to Ireland, yet its provisions were calculated to damage materially the teaching functions of the Hospital. Through the apathy of the profession in Ireland this Bill was allowed to pass without being extended to this country, but at the instigation of the Master, Dr. Purefoy, the Governors were enabled to have it so modified as to include the Rotunda among the institutions the certificate of which should be recognised as entitling its possessor to be registered under the Act. Later on further effort was necessary to obtain justice for the Hospital and its pupils, but had not the original Bill been amended in the way indicated, it is probable that Irish trained midwives would now be precluded, not only from practising in England, but even from presenting themselves for examination by the Central Midwives Board. In their petition to the Lord Lieutenant on this matter the Governors were able to point out that the training afforded to midwives in the Rotunda Hospital was more thorough and extended over a longer time than did the training of any similar institution in London.[1]

To Dr. Purefoy is due the reintroduction of the practice of publishing each year a report of the clinical work of the Hospital.[2] This practice had been started by George Johnston when, as Master, he was fighting for the existence of the Hospital, then threatened with extinction on account of the mortality from puerperal sepsis. No such stimulus was needed to urge Dr. Purefoy to publish his reports. Under the management of Macan, Dr. Smyly and himself, the position of the Hospital had become assured, and it was acknowledged on all hands that nowhere could a woman find a safer refuge in the hour of her need than in the Rotunda Hospital.

This very safety of the Hospital, inspiring, as it did, confidence in those who sought its aid, soon involved the Governors in serious difficulties. One of the first problems that faced Dr. Purefoy's successor, Dr. Ernest Hastings Tweedy, who was elected Master on November 6th, 1903, was to find room to house the patients who sought admission. Since the Hospital was founded it had been its proud boast that no woman in labour who sought admission was refused, and this boast the Master was anxious to maintain. In October, 1904, he reported that during the previous year the number of admissions was

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. ix, p. 340.

[2] 'Purefoy Reports.'

greatly in excess of any preceding year since 1835, and that the private wards in the Hospital had to be given up for the use of the free patients. In spite of this addition to the accommodation, stretcher beds had to be provided, maternity patients admitted to the gynæcological wing, and owing to the overcrowding it was not possible to keep the patients in Hospital for more than eight days after their confinement. In Queen Charlotte's Hospital in London patients were not discharged under fourteen days, and Her Gracious Majesty Queen Alexandra had intimated to the Governors her desire that a similar period of residence might be allowed to those in the Rotunda.

To meet this difficulty Dr. Tweedy brought forward a suggestion that an annexe should be built to the old Hospital for the accommodation of the nurses, thus setting free several additional wards for the Hospital. After much deliberation the plan proposed by the Master was adopted, and on July 14th, 1905, the contract for this building with Mr. B. W. Whyte was finally accepted by the Board.[1] Two years were occupied in the building, and on July 27th, 1907, the new premises were opened with much pomp and ceremony by her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen.

Not only did this building afford the much-needed relief to the overcrowding, but it also provided the nurses with most comfortable quarters. The cost of the building, some £6000, was a big outlay for the Governors to undertake so soon after the expenditure on the new wing, but the Master was able to convince the Board that the investment would be a profitable one. He estimated the income from the capital to be invested in the building at £195 a year, which, with £100 for fuel and light, would cost the Hospital each year £295. Against this he calculated that the extra nurses that the Hospital would be able to accommodate would bring in £230 provided "the master would make the same proportionate contribution out of the fees of the new pupil nurses which he at present makes out of the fees of the existing pupil nurses, and this he has expressed his readiness to do."[2] The committee estimated that at least £100 a year increase might be expected from the enlarged accommodation for paying patients and extra staff nurses, so that by the new building the Hospital would increase its income by some £35 a year. We are unable to say whether these estimates have proved entirely correct; but this much is certain, that the Hospital is now in possession of satisfactory nurses' quarters, and that this end has been accomplished without materially diminishing the income of the charity.

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. ix, p. 441.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 426.

THE NURSES' HOME.

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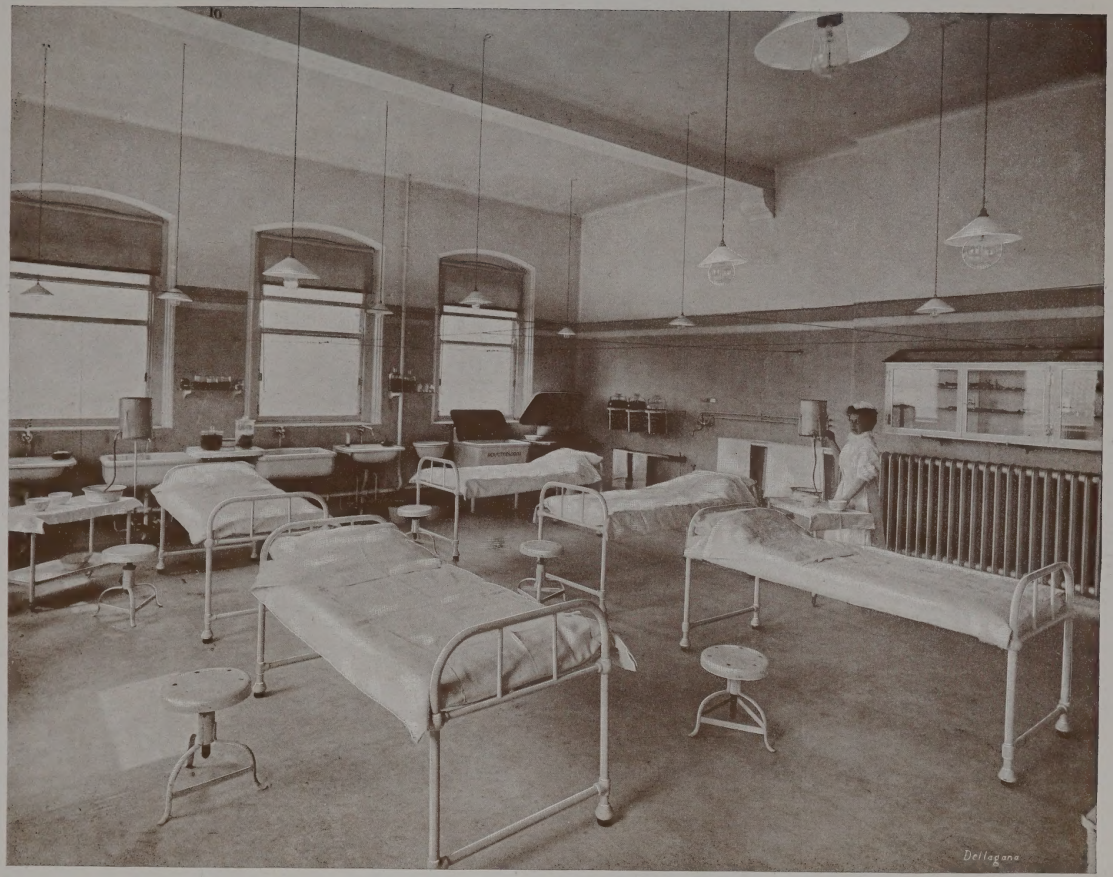

THE LABOUR WARD.

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It was during the mastership of Dr. Tweedy, and at his instigation, that the office of honorary consulting oculist to the Hospital was established, and on August, 3rd, 1906, Mr. Frank C. Crawley was elected to that post. To Dr. Tweedy's initiation also is due the office of consulting gynæcologists to which the ex-Masters of the Hospital are appointed, and on August 5th, 1904, Dr. Atthill, Sir Arthur Macan, Dr. Smyly and Dr. Purefoy were elected to that position, and on February 3rd, 1911, Dr. Tweedy was himself unanimously elected one of the number.

Since the appointment of the present Master, Dr. Henry Jellett, who succeeded Dr. Tweedy on November 4th, 1910, the progress of the Hospital has been well maintained. In February 1911, Dr. Jellett brought before the Governors a scheme for providing new labour wards for the maternity Hospital. The old labour wards, instituted during the mastership of Smyly, were then found to be inadequate to the needs of the Hospital. When one considers that in the year ending March 31st, 1890, just at the beginning of Smyly's period of office, 1599 patients had been admitted to the maternity wards, while in the year ending March 31st, 1911, this number had increased to 2596, one can easily see that what was sufficient in 1890 would not suffice for the present time. Dr. Jellett suggested that the two large wards on the top story of the new wing should be converted into labour wards, and that the adjacent rooms should be used for isolation wards, lavatories, and the other requisites to make this a complete and separate unit of the Hospital. The scheme was adopted by the Board and carried out under the personal supervision of the Master, who devoted much time and thought to the elaboration of the technical details. On March 6th, 1912, these wards were formally opened, and they have proved, as the Governors wished they should, that the design was carried out "so that the improvements will rank with the best of their kind in Europe."[1] Besides these changes the Governors have just completed extensive alterations in the old auxiliary hospital, now given up to the accommodation of the resident pupils. This old house, formerly Lord Mountgarret's town house, and later the home of the Richmond Blind Asylum, after many changes has now been entirely remodelled. It was feared at one time it would be necessary to pull it down and to replace it by a new building, but the Governors found it possible to make such changes in it as will make it a comfortable and commodious residence house for about twenty-five pupils.

The National Insurance Act of 1911, as it left the House of Commons, threatened to do irreparable damage to all the maternity hospitals, and to

[1] 'Minutes,' vol. x, p. 86.

cramp for ever their usefulness as schools of midwifery. Mainly owing to the exertions of Dr. Jellett this fate has been averted from the Rotunda, and regulations have been accepted by the Insurance Commissioners, which, it is hoped, will preserve the utility of this institution. At one time the outlook was black indeed, but now fortunately the prospect is more fair, and the Irish school of midwifery owes no small debt of gratitude to Dr. Jellett for the ability and energy which he brought to the solution of this problem.

The citizens of Dublin have often, rightly or wrongly, been accused of excessive pride in their city and its institutions—a city from which so much of its glory departed at the end of the eighteenth century. Whether this accusation be just or not we leave others to decide, but of this we feel confident, that there is no city worthy of the name whose citizens would not be proud of possessing such an institution as the Rotunda Hospital. Whether we think of its past history since first it was established in Madam Violante's Theatre in George's Lane, or of its present condition as the largest and one of the best equipped maternity hospitals in the kingdom, we are filled with pride in the great institution. Our hearts go out in gratitude to its noble founder, Bartholomew Mosse, for his benevolence, and for the wise forethought and skill which made that benevolence permanent. Changes have been frequent and advance has been constant, but still the Hospital is managed under those wise provisions which at the instigation of Mosse were inserted in the original charter. All honour, too, is due to that long line of Masters, assistants, and Governors, who have so loyally served the Hospital and maintained its high traditions, each one aiming that the great heritage should be handed to his successor better than he himself received it. Whatever changes and chances the future may have in store, we trust that those to whom the care of the Hospital may come will serve it as loyally, and that the brilliance of surgical achievement will never tempt them to neglect the first object of the institution—to be a great Lying-in Hospital and School of Midwifery.

THE WAITING WARD.

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APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

OFFICERS

MASTERS

Bartholomew Mosse, Surgeon and Licentiate in Midwifery, appointed Master for life by the Charter, December 2nd, 1756. Died February 16th, 1759.

Sir Fielding Ould, M.D., elected November 2nd, 1759; held office till November 7th, 1766.

William Collum, elected Master November 7th, 1766, and held office till November 5th, 1773.

Frederick Jebb, M.D., elected Master November 5th, 1773, and held office till November 3rd, 1780.

Henry Rock, elected Master November 3rd, 1780, and died in office in July, 1786.

Joseph Clarke, M.D., elected Master November 3rd, 1786, and held office till November 1st, 1793.

Thomas Evory, M.D., elected Master November 1st, 1793, and held office till November 7th, 1800.

Thomas Kelly, elected Master November 7th, 1800, and resigned May 1st, 1807.

Francis Hopkins, M.D., elected Master November 6th, 1807, and held office till November 4th, 1814.

Samuel Bell Labatt, M.D., elected Master November 4th, 1814, and held office till November 2nd, 1821.

John Pentland, M.D., elected Master November 2nd, 1821, and died in office August 22nd, 1826.

Robert Collins, M.D., elected Master November 3rd, 1826, and held office till November 1st, 1833.

Evory Kennedy, M.D., elected Master November 1st, 1833, and held office till November 6th, 1840.

Charles Johnson, M.R.C.S.I., elected Master November 6th, 1840, and held office till November 5th, 1847.

Robert Shekleton, M.R.C.S.I., elected Master November 5th, 1847, and held office till November 3rd, 1854.

Alfred Henry M'Clintock, M.D., elected Master November 3rd, 1854, and held office till November 1st, 1861.

John Denham, M.D., elected Master November 1st, 1861, and held office till November 6th, 1868.

George Johnston, M.D., elected Master November 6th, 1868, and held office till November 5th, 1875.

Lombe Atthill, M.D., elected Master November 5th, 1875, and held office till November 3rd, 1882.

Arthur Vernon Macan, M.B., M.A.O., elected Master November 3rd, 1882, and held office till November 1st, 1889.

William Josiah Smyly, M.D., elected Master November 1st, 1889, and held office till November 6th, 1896.

Richard Dancer Purefoy, M.D., elected Master November 6th, 1896, and held office till November 6th, 1903.

Ernest Hastings Tweedy, F.R.C.P.I., elected Master November 6th, 1903, and held office till November 4th, 1910.

Henry Jellett, M.D., elected Master November 4th, 1910.

ASSISTANT MASTERS

William Collum appears to have acted as Assistant to Mosse, though the date of his appointment is not recorded. He seems to have continued to act as Assistant till shortly before he was elected Master, in November, 1766.

Henry Rock, nominated Assistant by Sir Fielding Ould on July 22nd, 1766, and held office till 1769. Elected Master in November, 1780, and died in office 1786.

William Lindley, nominated Assistant by William Collum on November 12th, 1767, and died in office in 1769.

Thomas Kelly, nominated Assistant by William Collum on May 30th, 1769, and held office till August 6th, 1772. Elected Master November 7th, 1800.

Frederick Jebb, nominated Assistant with Thomas Kelly by William Collum on May 30th, 1769, and held office till August 6th, 1772. Elected Master November 5th, 1773.

Edward Foster, nominated Assistant by William Collum on July 23rd, 1772, and held office till August 8th, 1775.

Deane Swift, nominated Assistant by William Collum on August 6th, 1772, and resigned January 1st, 1774. Appointed Consulting Surgeon May 16th, 1774. Died 1778.

Alexander MacDowell, nominated Assistant by Frederick Jebb on January 11th, 1774. Resigned July 11th, 1774.

John Halahan, nominated Assistant by Frederick Jebb on July 11th, 1774, and appears to have held office for three years.

Thomas Naghten, nominated Assistant by Frederick Jebb on August 8th, 1775, and held office for three years.

Thomas Costelloe, nominated Assistant by Frederick Jebb on March 10th, 1777, and resigned May 5th, 1780.

Christopher Fitzgerald, nominated Assistant by Frederick Jebb on May 9th, 1778, and held office till May 15th, 1781.

Sir Henry Jebb, nominated Assistant by Frederick Jebb on March 30th, 1780, and held office till March 28th, 1783.

Anthony O'Donnell, nominated Assistant by Henry Rock on May 15th, 1781, and held office till May 15th, 1784.

Joseph Clarke, nominated Assistant by Henry Rock on March 28th, 1783, and held office till March 30th, 1786. Elected Master November, 1786.

John Ford, nominated Assistant by Henry Rock on May 15th, 1784, and held office till November 7th, 1788.

Thomas Evory, nominated Assistant by Henry Rock on March 30th, 1786, and held office till May 1st, 1789. Elected Master November, 1793.

John Beatty, nominated Assistant by Joseph Clarke, November 7th, 1788, and held office till November 8th, 1791.

Francis Hopkins, nominated Assistant by Joseph Clarke on May 1st, 1789, and held office till May 7th, 1792. Elected Master November, 1807.

John Pentland, nominated Assistant by Joseph Clarke, November 8th, 1791, and held office till December 9th, 1794. Elected Master November, 1821.

George Maxwell, nominated Assistant by Joseph Clarke, on May 7th, 1792, and held office till May 1st, 1795.

John Connor, nominated Assistant by Thomas Evory on December 9th, 1794, and held office till February 15th, 1798.

John Gahagan, nominated Assistant by Thomas Evory on May 1st, 1795, and held office till August 9th, 1800.

John Wolseley, nominated Assistant by Thomas Evory on February 15th, 1798, and held office till February 20th, 1801.

Samuel Bell Labatt, nominated Assistant by Thomas Evory on August 9th, 1800, and held office till August 13th, 1803. Elected Master November, 1814.

Hugh Ferguson, nominated Assistant by Thomas Kelly on February 20th, 1801, and held office till February 24th, 1804.

John Breen, nominated Assistant by Thomas Kelly, August 13th, 1803, and held office till August 23rd, 1806.

Andrew Johnston, nominated Assistant by Thomas Kelly, February 24th, 1804, and held office till February 5th, 1808.

James McCabe, nominated Assistant by Thomas Kelly, January 27th, 1807, and held office till February 2nd, 1810.

Andrew Armstrong, nominated Assistant by Francis Hopkins on February 5th, 1808, and held office till December 24th, 1808.

John C. Douglas, nominated Assistant by Francis Hopkins on December 24th, 1808, and held office till January 4th, 1812.

William Stott, nominated Assistant by Francis Hopkins on February 2nd, 1810, and held office till August 13th, 1811.

Thomas Ferguson, nominated Assistant by Francis Hopkins on August 13th, 1811, and held office till August 23rd, 1814.

Edward Shaw, nominated Assistant by Francis Hopkins on January 4th, 1812, and died in office January, 1813.

Charles Frizell, nominated Assistant by Francis Hopkins on February 5th, 1813, and held office till February 2nd, 1816.

Matthew Newport, nominated Assistant by Samuel Bell Labatt on August 23rd, 1814, and held office till August 25th, 1817.

Charles Johnson, nominated Assistant by Samuel Bell Labatt on February 2nd, 1816, and held office till February 5th, 1819. Elected Master November, 1840.

Robert Shekleton, nominated Assistant by Samuel Bell Labatt on August 25th, 1817, and held office till September 1st, 1820. Elected Master November, 1847.

Thomas McKeever, nominated Assistant by Samuel Bell Labatt on February 5th, 1819, and held office till February 1st, 1822.

Luke White Whitestone, nominated Assistant by Samuel Bell Labatt on September 1st, 1820, and held office till September 6th, 1823.

Robert Collins, nominated Assistant by John Pentland on February 1st, 1822, and held office till February 4th, 1825. Elected Master November, 1826.

James Gordon, nominated Assistant by John Pentland on September 6th, 1823, and held office till November 3rd, 1826.

Alexander Jaffray J. Nicholson, nominated Assistant by John Pentland, on February 4th, 1825, and held office till February 1st, 1828.

Henry Darley, nominated Assistant by Robert Collins on November 13th, 1826, and held office till November 13th, 1829.

Evory Kennedy, nominated Assistant by Robert Collins on February 1st, 1828, and held office till February 4th, 1831. Elected Master, November, 1833.

Jonathan Labatt, nominated Assistant November 13th, 1829, by Robert Collins, and held office till November 13th, 1832.

William O'Brien Adams, nominated Assistant by Robert Collins on February 4th, 1831, and held office till February 1st, 1834.

William Edward Murphy, nominated Assistant by Robert Collins on November 13th, 1832, and held office till November 6th, 1835.

William Wilson Campbell, nominated Assistant by Evory Kennedy on February 7th, 1834, and held office till September 13th, 1837.

Henry Law Dwyer, nominated Assistant by Evory Kennedy on May 6th, 1836, and held office till May 3rd, 1839.

Robert Herdman, nominated Assistant by Evory Kennedy on September 13th, 1837, and held office till September 14th, 1840.

John Thwaites, nominated Assistant by Evory Kennedy on May 3rd, 1839; resigned October 16th, 1839.

James Isdell, nominated Assistant by Evory Kennedy on October 16th, 1839, and held office till October 22nd, 1842.

Robert Johns, nominated Assistant by Evory Kennedy on September 14th, 1840, and held office till September 15th, 1843.

Samuel Little Hardy, nominated Assistant by Charles Johnson on October 22nd, 1842, and held office till October 22nd, 1845.

Alfred Henry McClintock, nominated Assistant by Charles Johnson on September 15th, 1843, and held office till October 15th, 1846. Elected Master, November, 1854.

John Denham, nominated Assistant by Charles Johnson on October 22nd, 1845, and held office till October 23rd, 1848. Elected Master, November, 1861.

Henry James Sibthorpe, nominated Assistant by Charles Johnson on October 15th, 1846, and held office till December 27th, 1849.

George Johnston, nominated Assistant by Robert Shekleton on October 23rd, 1848, and held office till October 20th, 1851. Elected Master, November, 1868.

Edward Burrowes Sinclair, nominated Assistant by Robert Shekleton on October 30th, 1850, and held office till October 28th, 1853.

Lombe Atthill, nominated Assistant by Robert Shekleton on October 20th, 1851, and held office till October 20th, 1854. Elected Master, November, 1875.

Wenesley Bond Jennings, nominated Assistant by Robert Shekleton on October 28th, 1853, and held office till September 29th, 1856.

George Montgomery, nominated Assistant by Robert Shekleton on October 20th, 1854, and held office till October 23rd, 1857.

Benjamin Grattan Guinness, nominated Assistant by Alfred Henry McClintock on September 29th, 1856, and held office till March 30th, 1859, when he resigned owing to ill-health.

John Augustus Byrne, nominated Assistant by Alfred Henry McClintock on October 23rd, 1857, and held office till September 28th, 1860.

Henry Samuel Halahan, nominated Assistant by Alfred Henry McClintock on March 30th, 1859, and held office till March 8th, 1862.

William Kennedy, nominated Assistant by Alfred Henry McClintock on September 28th, 1860, and held office till his death in April, 1861.

John Rutherfoord Kirkpatrick, nominated Assistant by Alfred Henry McClintock on May 3rd, 1861, and held office till May 6th, 1864.

John Cronyn, nominated Assistant by John Denham on March 8th, 1862, and held office till May 5th, 1865.

Thomas Telford, nominated Assistant by John Denham on August 5th, 1864, and held office till August 2nd, 1867.

Albert Speedy, nominated Assistant by John Denham on May 5th, 1865, and held office till May 4th, 1868.

John Guinness Beatty, nominated Assistant by John Denham on August 2nd, 1867, and held office till August 5th, 1870.

Thomas More Madden, nominated Assistant by John Denham on May 4th, 1868, and held office till May 5th, 1871.

Alexander Taylor, nominated Assistant by George Johnston on August 5th, 1870, and held office till July 11th, 1873.

John Joseph Cranny, nominated Assistant by George Johnston on May 5th, 1871, and held office till May 1st, 1874.

Arthur Vernon Macan, nominated Assistant by George Johnston on July 11th, 1873, and held office till August, 1876. Elected Master, November, 1882.

Richard Dancer Purefoy, nominated Assistant by George Johnston on July 10th, 1874, and held office till July 13th, 1877. Elected Master, November, 1896.

William Hume Hart, nominated Assistant by Lombe Atthill on January 12th, 1877, and resigned October 12th, 1877.

William Josiah Smyly, nominated Assistant by Lombe Atthill on July 13th, 1877, and held office till July 9th, 1880. Elected Master, November, 1889.

Alexander Duke, nominated Assistant by Lombe Atthill on January 11th, 1878, and held office till February 4th, 1881.

Andrew Horne, nominated Assistant by Lombe Atthill on July 9th, 1880, and held office till August 3rd, 1883.

Richard Henry, nominated Assistant by Lombe Atthill on February 4th, 1881, and held office till July 11th, 1884.

John Lilly Lane, nominated Assistant by Arthur Vernon Macan on August 3rd, 1883, and held office till July 6th, 1886.

Robert Howard Fleming, nominated Assistant by Arthur V. Macan on July 11th, 1884, and held office till July, 1887.

Alfred John Smith, nominated Assistant by Arthur V. Macan on November 8th, 1886, and held office till August 2nd, 1889.

William Sidney Bagot, nominated Assistant by Arthur V. Macan on August 3rd, 1888, and held office till August 7th, 1891.

Robert Alexander Flynn, nominated Assistant by Arthur V. Macan on August 2nd, 1889, and held office till August 5th, 1892.

John Hugh Robert Glenn, nominated Assistant by William J. Smyly on August 21st, 1891, and held office till August 3rd, 1894.

Ernest Hastings Tweedy, nominated Assistant by William J. Smyly on August 5th, 1892, and held office till August 2nd, 1895. Elected Master, November, 1903.

Thomas Henry Wilson, nominated Assistant by William J. Smyly on August 3rd, 1894, and held office till August, 1897.

Henry Jellett, nominated Assistant by William J. Smyly on August 2nd, 1895, and held office till October 14th, 1898. Elected Master, November, 1910.

Robert Patton Lyle, nominated Assistant by Richard D. Purefoy on October 15th, 1897, and resigned October 13th, 1899.

Henry Cairns Lloyd, nominated Assistant by Richard D. Purefoy on October 14th, 1898, and held office till October 11th, 1901.

Paul Carton, nominated Assistant by Richard D. Purefoy on November 3rd, 1899, and held office till November 7th, 1902.

Gordon William Fitzgerald, nominated Assistant by Richard D. Purefoy on October 11th, 1901, and held office till October 14th, 1904.

Gibbon FitzGibbon, nominated Assistant by Richard D. Purefoy on November 7th, 1902, and held office till November 3rd, 1905.

Arthur Norman Holmes, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on October 14th, 1904, and held office till November 1st, 1907.

Roy Samuel Dobbin, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on November 3rd, 1905, and resigned November 2nd, 1906.

Guy Theodore Wrench, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on November 2nd, 1906; resigned May 3rd, 1907.

John William Bell, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on May 3rd, 1907; resigned August 7th, 1908.

George Barton McCaul, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on November 1st, 1907; resigned November 6th, 1908.

James Roy Freeland, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on August 7th, 1908, and held office till August 4th, 1911.

Bethel Solomons, nominated Assistant by Ernest Hastings Tweedy on November 6th, 1908, and held office till November 3rd, 1911.

David Gamble Madill, nominated Assistant by Henry Jellett on August 4th, 1911.

Robert Marshall Allan, nominated Assistant by Henry Jellett on November 3rd, 1911.

CONSULTING PHYSICIANS

Ezekiel Nesbitt, M.D., elected February 2nd, 1759; resigned May 16th, 1774.

Francis Hutcheson, M.D., elected May 6th, 1774; died August, 1784.

William Harvey, M.D., elected October 11th, 1784; died April, 1819.

James Clarke, M.B., elected March 26th, 1819; died October 5th, 1820.

William Brooke, M.D., elected November 3rd, 1820; died 1829.
Samuel Bell Labatt, M.D., ex-Master, elected August 7th, 1829; resigned June 5th, 1846.
Sir Henry Marsh, Bart., M.D., elected June 30th, 1846; died December 1st, 1860.
Charles Phillips Croker, M.D., elected February 1st, 1861; died January 11th, 1870.
Alfred Hudson, M.D., elected May 6th, 1870; died November 19th, 1880.
James Little, M.D., elected February 4th, 1881.

CONSULTING SURGEONS

Mr. Deane Swift, elected May 16th, 1774; died 1775.
Mr. Samuel Croker-King, elected November 3rd, 1775; died January 12th, 1817.
Mr. Ralph Smyth Obré, elected January 20th, 1817; died August, 1820.
Mr. Abraham Colles, elected November 3rd, 1820; died December 16th, 1843.
Sir Philip Crampton, Bart., elected December 30th, 1843; died June 10th, 1858.
Mr. James William Cusack, elected August 6th, 1858; died September 25th, 1861.
Mr. Robert Adams, elected November 1st, 1861; died January 16th, 1875.
Mr. William Colles, elected April 9th, 1875; died June 18th, 1892.
Sir George Hornidge Porter, Bart., elected November 4th, 1892; died June 16th, 1895.
Sir Philip Crampton Smyly, elected August 2nd, 1895; died April 8th, 1904.
Mr. Francis Thomas Heuston, elected June 3rd, 1904.

HOUSEKEEPERS AND MATRONS

Mrs. Miller, probably the Housekeeper and Matron of the old Hospital in George's Lane, and superannuated at £10 a year on the opening of the new Hospital.

Mrs. Elizabeth Walsh, probably appointed by Mosse at the opening of the new Hospital. Continued in office till her death in 1774.

Mrs. Margaret Cave, under-housekeeper probably from the opening of the Hospital and elected Housekeeper in 1774; died 1775.

Mrs. Ann Orr, elected Matron November 2nd, 1774; resigned August 7th, 1795.

Mrs. Denniston, elected Housekeeper February 15th, 1775; resigned August 7th, 1795.

Mrs. Rippingham, elected Housekeeper and Matron November 7th, 1795; resigned June 29th, 1805.

Mrs. Hincks, elected Housekeeper and Matron August 2nd, 1805; resigned August 20th, 1811.

Mrs. Caldbeck, elected Housekeeper and Matron November 1st, 1811; died 1831.

Miss Cooke, elected Housekeeper and Matron August 5th, 1831; died suddenly November, 1838.

Mrs. Feinaigle, elected Housekeeper and Matron December 1st, 1838; resigned December 29th, 1856.

Mrs. Carey, elected Housekeeper and Matron February 2nd, 1857; resigned April 9th, 1880.

Mrs. Elizabeth Courtney, elected Housekeeper and Matron June 18th, 1880. Her office was discontinued on November 6th, 1891.

LADY SUPERINTENDENTS OF NURSES

Miss Sara E. Hampson, elected first Lady Superintendent October 9th, 1891. Resigned November 6th, 1896.

Miss Lucy Ramsden, elected December 18th, 1896.

REGISTRARS

John Murray, probably served in the old Hospital in George's Lane and continued in the new Hospital; died April 27th, 1760.

Benjamin Higgins, elected May 2nd, 1760; died 1796.

James Rafferty, elected March 4th, 1796; died 1816.

Henry Croker, elected November 23rd, 1816; resigned April 5th, 1819.

William M. Benson, elected April 13th, 1819; resigned, from illness, March 9, 1843.

J. G. Strickland, elected March 9th, 1843; died 1872.

Joseph Mullen, elected May 27th, 1872; superannuated November 6th, 1891.

Wyndham Quin FitzGerald, elected November 6th, 1891.

APPENDIX III

THE WILL OF BARTHOLOMEW MOSSE

In the Name of God, Amen.

I **Bartholomew Mosse,** of the City of Dublin, Esq., Doct. in Physick, Licentiate in Midwifery, first founder of an Hospital for the relief of poor lying in women in his Majesty's British Dominions which was founded by me in George's Lane in the suburbs of the City of Dublin and by me was opened for the reception of patients on the twenty-fifth of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five and from thence was carried on by me by the help of several well disposed persons until the present Hospital in Great Britain Street was founded by me, which Hospital hath since been incorporated by his Majesty's Royal Charter by the name of the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the relief of poor lying-in women in Dublin and thereof his Majesty hath by his said Charter been most graciously pleased to appoint me not only Master but one of the Governors and Guardians of the same for and during the term of my natural life, being in perfect health and sound and disposing mind and memory, praise be given to God, calling to mind the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time when, do make and publish this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following hereby revoking all former and other wills by me at any time or times heretofore made and declaring this only to be my last Will and Testament. In the first place I most humbly commend my soul to the hands of my great Creator, God Almighty, hoping through the merits of His Son Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer to obtain remission of my sins. My body I desire may be privately interred in such manner as my Executors hereinafter named shall direct and appoint. Whereas William Naper, Esq. did by indenture bearing date the fifteenth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight demise and grant all that lot or piece of ground on the North side of Great Britain Street described at large in such indenture and the map thereto annexed unto me my heirs and assigns during the lives in such indenture named, with a covenant for the renewal for ever at the yearly rent of seventy pounds sterling after the first two years of said demise, and by a deed bearing date the first day of January one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine and endorsed upon the said indenture of lease I have declared that the said indenture of lease and the ground thereby demised were taken by me in Trust for the Hospital for poor distressed lying-in women and I did thereby covenant with the Trustees or persons in such endorsed deed named to make and execute such further Grant and Conveyance of the said premises as should be thought necessary for assuring the same to the use and benefit of the said Hospital as in and by the said indenture of lease and the said Deed endorsed thereupon more fully appears. And it hath pleased Almighty God to Bless my intention and endeavours so far that notwithstanding the many difficulties I have struggled with, I have lived to see an Hospital for the said charitable use built upon the said ground and now almost compleated, his Majesty's said most gracious Charter obtained, erecting a Corporation by the name of the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the relief of poor lying-in women in Dublin, and the said charity and Hospital encouraged and supported by the Benefactions of many well disposed persons, but above all by the Honble House of Commons of this Kingdom in their several votes and addresses in favour of the same. I think it my duty in the first place with regard to worldly affairs to

confirm as far as in me lies my said declaration of Trust and I do hereby for me my heirs and assigns grant, confirm, give and devise all the said lot or piece of ground with the said indenture of lease and all benefits of the covenant for renewal and all and singular the premises demised and granted by the said indenture together with all Buildings and Improvements whatsoever erected or made thereupon and all my right Title or interest of in or to the same subject however to the Rent covenants or reservations on the Tenent or Lessess part in the said indenture contained to be paid done or performed to the Right Honble James Earl of Kildare and the Right Honble Sir Arthur Gore Lord Viscount Suddley of Castle Gore and their Heirs for ever to the only use and behoof of the said Corporation or body politick and their successors for ever. And as to all other the Estate both real and personal which God of his infinite Goodness hath been pleased to bestow on me I do in order as far as in me lies to make my dear wife and two children happy and easy in enjoyment of the same I give and dispose thereof as followeth ;—I desire that all debts due to me may be called in, and that all my Household Furniture (except plate and Mahogany Furniture of my own manufacturing) and all other my personal estate may be sold and disposed of in such manner as my executors or the major part of them (of which my wife to be one) shall direct and that out of the money arising by such sale, and the debts so due to me, the sum of five hundred pounds shall be paid to my said dear wife or to be retained by her and to be by her laid out at Interest the Interest of which sum to be to her own use during her life and the principal to be by her applied to the use of her children Charles and Jane Mosse or to such one of them or either of them as she shall think fit without the control of the other child or being accountable to him or her for the same or any part thereof. I give and devise to my daughter Jane Mosse one pair of large Silver Candle sticks one Mahogany Bed of the Ionick order, one Dozen of Chairs, one Dressing Table one Talboy, one tea table and one middle sized Dining Table, all made of mahogany, to her own use and all the rest residue and remainder of my plate and Mahogany Furniture I give and devise to my wife for her use only during her life and from and after the decease of my said wife to the use of my said son Charles and his Representatives for ever and after payment of the said sum of five hundred pounds to my wife or her retaining the same to the use aforesaid and that such debts as I shall owe at the time of my death and my Funeral Expenses are fully satisfied and paid if any redundancy shall happen such redundancy shall be laid out at interest upon such security or securities to be taken for the same in the name of my executors or the major part of them (whereof my wife to be one) as by them or the major part of them (whereof my wife to be one) shall be approved of, and that the interest arising from such redundant sum together with the Rents Issues and Profits of all my real estate of what kind or nature so ever as well as for freehold or for lives as of Inheritance shall be paid and applied in such manner as is hereinafter limited directed and appointed concerning the same. I give and devise all my said real estate of what nature or kind soever to the aforesaid Lord Viscount Suddley and William Henry Dawson of Dawson's Court in the Queens County Esq. and their Heirs to the uses following (that is to say) In the first place to the use of the said Lord Viscount Suddley and William Henry Dawson and to the survivor and to the executors or adms. of such survivor for and during the term of two hundred years, In trust nevertheless to and for the several uses and intents and purposes and subject to the several Trusts Limitations and previsoes hereinafter mentioned concerning the same and no other (that is to say) In the first place Upon Trust and to the intent and purpose that my said dear wife shall receive and enjoy during the said term in case she shall so long live one annuity or yearly Rent Charge of Eighty pounds ster. to be issuing and payable out of, and to be charged and chargeable on, all and singular my said real estate as well freehold as of inheritance to be paid and payable by two even and equal moities or portions on every first day of May and first day of November in every year free and clear and over and above all manner of Taxes and Charges whatsoever the first payment to be made on such of the said days as shall first happen

after my decease and to the intent and purpose that in case the said Annuity or Rent Charge of Eighty pounds shall be behind or unpaid in the whole or in part by the space of ten days next after any of the said days of payment that it then shall and may be lawful to and for and I do hereby impower my said wife Jane to distrain all or any part of my said Real Estate for the same. And I do hereby declare my will and intention to be that the said Annuity or Yearly Rent Charge of eighty pounds shall be in lieu and bar of all Dower Thirds or other share or proportion of all or any part of my real or personal estate and herein expressly devised or bequeathed to my said wife which she might otherwise have claim or be intitled to by virtue of any law statute or usage whatsoever and in full recompense bar and satisfaction of all other provision and provisions for my said wife heretofore made or agreed or intended to be made by me by any deed article or writing heretofore executed by me. And subject to the aforesaid Annuity or Yearly Rent Charge of eighty pounds Upon Trust and to the intent and purpose that my said real estate as well of Freehold as of Inheritance shall stand charged and chargeable with the sum of one thousand and five hundred pounds ster. and that the said Lord Viscount Suddley and William Henry Dawson and the survivor of them and the executor and adminst of such survivor shall and do by and out of the Rents Issues and profits of the said Premises or by Demise Mortgage or Sale of the said estate or any part or parts thereof for the said term of two hundred years or any lesser term raise and levy the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds ster together with interest for the same at the rate of three pounds for each hundred from the day of my Decease to the time the principal shall become payable which sum of one thousand five hundred pounds I devise unto my said daughter for her portion to be paid to her at her age of twenty-one years or day of marriage whichever shall first happen, in case my daughter Jane shall marry with the consent of her guardians hereinafter named or the major part of them. But in case my daughter Jane shall marry before she arrive at her age of twenty-one years without the consent of her guardians first had and obtained in writing under their hands and seals or the hands and seals of the major part of them duly attested by two or more credible witnesses, that then and in that case I devise to my said daughter Jane the sum of five hundred pounds ster only, part of the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds as her portion and the remaining sum of one thousand pounds I devise to my son Charles. And in case my said daughter Jane shall happen to die before she attains her age of twenty one years or shall be married without such consent as aforesaid then and in such case my Will and Intention is that the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds intended as portion for her shall not be raised but shall sink in the inheritance of my said real estate for the use and benefit of the several persons to whom my estate is hereby limited and shall from thenceforth cease to be a charge upon my said Real Estate either Freehold or Inheritance. And I do hereby declare that the said term of two hundred years is hereby limited to the said Lord Viscount Suddley and William Henry Dawson to secure the said jointure or annuity to my said wife and the said portion to my said daughter and for no other purpose whatsoever. And my will and intention is that when the said uses or purposes are answered according to the true intention of this my will that the said term of two hundred years shall cease and be no longer of any force or effect or shall be assigned by the said Lord Viscount Suddley and William Henry Dawson or the survivor or the executor or adminstr of such survivor to attend the uses hereinafter limited of my said Real Estate. And subject to the said term of two hundred years to the use and behoof of my said son Charles and his assigns during his natural life without impeachment of waste and from and after the determination of that estate to the use and behoof of Edward Sterling of the City of Dublin Esq. and Adam Williams of the same City gentleman and their heirs during the life of my said son Charles upon trust to support and preserve the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited from being barred and destroyed but so as to permit and suffer my said son Charles to receive the rents issues and profits during his natural life. And from and after the decease of my said son Charles subject as aforesaid to the use and behoof of the first and every other son and sons of the body of my

said son Charles to be lawfully begotten and the heirs males of their several and respective bodies to be begotten severally and successively one after another as they and every of them shall be in priority of birth and seniority of age the Elder of such sons and the heirs males of his body being always preferred before the younger of such sons and the heirs males of his or their bodies. And in case my said son Charles shall happen to die without issue male of his body lawfully begotten then subject as aforesaid to the use and behoof of my said daughter Jane and her assigns during her natural life without impeachment of waste. And from and after the determination of that estate to the use and behoof of the said Edward Sterling and Adam Williams and their heirs during the life of my said daughter Jane upon trust to support and preserve the contingent uses and estates hereinafter limited from being barred and destroyed but so as to permit my said daughter Jane to receive the rents issues and profits during her natural life. And from and after the decease of my said daughter Jane subject as aforesaid, To the use and behoof of the first and every other Son and Sons of the body of my said daughter Jane to be lawfully begotten and to the heirs male of their several and respective bodies to be begotten severally and successively one after another as they and every of them shall be in priority of birth and seniority of age the Elder of such sons and the Heirs Male of his body being always preferred before the younger of such sons and the heirs male of their and his bodies. And for want of such issue then subject as aforesaid to the use and behoof of my own right heirs for ever. And I do hereby devise and declare my will to be that whereas some time in or about the month of November last past I demised by deeds of lease and release unto Charles Gordon Esq. for the considerations in the Deed of Release mentioned a House Coach house Stable and offices with their appurtenances situate in Cavendish street in the County of Dublin for lives with a covenant for renewal for ever at the yearly rent of ninety pounds ster and payment of a peppercorn for a fine on the renewal of each life which said demised premises are subject to a ground rent of nine pounds six shillings by the year and a peppercorn fine for renewal payable unto Sackville Gardiner Esq. whereby I have a profit rent of eighty pounds fourteen shillings by the year payable unto me out of the said demised premises. And Whereas I have consented and agreed that in case the said Charles Gordon shall on or before the first day of November which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty pay unto my executors or adminst for the purchase of the said profit Rent at the rate of seventeen years purchase which amounts to the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-one pounds eighteen shillings and at the same time pay off and discharge all arrears which shall be then due of the said ninety pounds yearly rent that from thenceforth the said Charles Gordon shall hold the said demised premises at and under the said yearly ground rent of nine pounds six shillings and a peppercorn fine for the renewal only payable to the said Sackville Gardiner. And it is intended shortly to ascertain the said agreement by a deed to be executed between the said Charles Gordon and me. Now I do hereby declare my will and intention to be that in case the said Charles Gordon shall in pursuance of the said agreement or intended agreement pay the said sum of one thousand and three hundred and seventy-one pounds eighteen shillings for the purchase of the said profit rent that then and in such case my executors hereinafter named shall out of the money to be raised by the sale of my Personal Estate hereinbefore directed to be sold add the sum of one hundred and twenty-eight pounds two shillings unto the beforementioned sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-one pounds eighteen shillings in order to make up a sum of one thousand five hundred pounds which sum of one thousand five hundred pounds so made up shall be laid out at interest by my said executors or such of them as shall take upon them the execution of this my will without any risk to themselves upon such security or securities and at such yearly interest as my said executors or the major part of them (whereof my said dear wife to be one) shall approve of until my said daughter Jane shall attain her age of twenty-one years or be married (which shall first happen) which sum of one thousand five hundred pounds I devise

and bequeath unto my said daughter Jane to be paid and payable unto her at her age of twenty-one years or day of marriage which shall first happen in case my said daughter Jane shall marry with the consent of her guardians hereinafter named or the major part of them first had but in case my said daughter shall marry without the consent of her said guardians first obtained in writing under their hands and seals or the hands and seals of the major part of them duly attested by two or more credible witnesses that then and in that case I devise to my said daughter Jane the sum of five hundred pounds ster only part of the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds as her portion and the remaining sum of one thousand pounds I devise to my son Charles in lieu and full satisfaction and recompense of the sum of one thousand five hundred pounds hereinbefore directed to be a charge upon my said real estate for her portion and raised by the said term of two hundred years. And I do further will and desire that out of the yearly interest of the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds so to be laid out at interest for my said daughter there shall be paid unto my said wife to be by her applied for the maintenance and education of my said daughter the sum of forty-five pounds yearly from the day of my decease until my said daughter shall attain her age of twenty-one years or shall be married which shall first happen and that the residue of the yearly interest of the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds until my said daughter shall attain her age of twenty-one years or be married shall be deemed and be taken as part of my personal estate for the benefit of my residuary legatee. And in case my said daughter shall happen to die before she attains her age of twenty-one years or shall be married then and in such case my will and intention is that the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds and the interest which shall accrue thereon shall from and after the decease of my said daughter be deemed and taken as part of my personal estate for the benefit of my residuary legatee. And in case the said Charles Gordon shall not pursuant to the aforesaid agreement or intended agreement purchase the said profit rent of eighty pounds fourteen shillings then and in such case I hereby devise and declare my will to be that my said wife Jane shall from and after my decease during her natural life have and enjoy to her own use and benefit all the rents issues and profits of the said premises hereinbefore mentioned to be demised by me to the aforementioned Charles Gordon subject unto and paying the aforesaid yearly ground rent of nine pounds six shillings in lieu bar and satisfaction of the aforesaid annuity of yearly rent charge herein before provided and appointed for her and in lieu bar recompense and satisfaction of and for all Dower Thirds or other share or proportion of all or any part of my real or personal estate which she might otherwise claim or be entitled to by virtue of any statute or usage whatsoever and in full recompense bar and satisfaction of all provision or provisions heretofore made or agreed to be made for her by any deed article or writing heretofore executed by me. And in case the said Charles Gordon shall not purchase as aforesaid the said profit rent then and in such case I will and declare my intention to be that the said sum of one thousand five hundred pounds herein before mentioned and charged upon my said estate for the portion of my said daughter shall when she attains her age of twenty-one years or shall be married which shall first happen such marriage being with the consent of her said guardians to be had as herein before set forth and in case she shall marry without such consent then she shall have only the sum of five hundred pounds and the remaining one thousand pounds to go to my son Charles but not sooner or otherwise, be levied or raised by the said Lord Viscount Suddley and William Henry Dawson or the survivor of them or the executors or adminst of such survivor by sale or mortgage of a sufficient part of my said estate as herein before mentioned as to him or them shall seem most convenient and paid to my said daughter at her age of twenty-one years or day of marriage which shall first happen such marriage being with the consent of her guardians to be had as hereinbefore set forth in case she shall marry without such consent then she shall have only the sum of five hundred pounds and the remaining one thousand pounds to go to my son Charles. And I do hereby further devise and declare my will to be that my said son Charles when he shall attain his age of twenty-one

years and my said daughter Jane if she shall by virtue of the limitations in this my will become entitled to my said real estate and shall attain her age of twenty-one years shall respectively have full power and authority to demise and leave all and every or any part and parcel of my said real estate whether of freehold or inheritance in manner following that is to say to demise and leave any part or parcel of my estate whereof I am seized in fee for any term of years not exceeding thirty-one years or for the life or lives of any one or two or three persons or for any term or number of years determinable on the death of any one two or three persons. And as to all the other freehold estates whereof I am seized by virtue of leases for liver renewable for ever, to demise and lease the same and all and every or any part or parcel thereof for any term of years whatsoever or for the same lives or any of them which shall be then in being of the lives named in the several and respective leases under which I am seized of the said freeholds so as to be demised and with a covenant and covenants for the renewal of the same for any number of other lives or for lives renewable for ever. Provided always upon every such lease or leases the best and most improved rent which can be had for the same from a good and solvent tenant be reserved and made payable. Provided also and my will and intention is that my said son Charles shall and may by any writing or writings under his hand and seal attested by two or more credible witnesses assign limit or appoint out of my said estate a jointure unto or for any wife he shall happen to marry not exceeding the yearly rent of two hundred pounds and subject as aforesaid. And may also in like manner charge the same with any sum not exceeding in the whole the sum of two thousand pounds for younger children. I do further devise and declare my will and intention to be that until my said son and daughter shall arrive at their age of twenty-one years the rents issues and profits of my said real estate and also the profits and produce of my personal fortune which shall be over and above and more than sufficient to assure and satisfy the several uses and purposes hereby appointed for the same shall be paid into the hands of my said executors and by them or the major part of them (whereof my dear wife to be one) be laid out at such interest and upon such security as shall be approved of by them for the benefit and advantage of my residuary legatee and I do hereby devise and bequeath unto my said son Charles all the rest residue and remainder of all and singular my real estate of whatsoever kind or nature and also all the rest residue and remainder of my personal estate and fortune not hereby disposed of. And I do hereby appoint my said son Charles to be my only residuary legatee. And I do hereby nominate and appoint my said dear wife, the Rev. John Whittingham, Doctor in Divinity, Phillip Whittingham and William Whittingham Esqs and the survivor or survivors of them guardians of my said son Charles and Daughter Jane until they and each of them shall arrive at their full ages of twenty-one years and also executors of this my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have to two parts of this my will subscribed my name and affixed my seal in the presence of the three subscribing witnesses thereto this ninth day of January one thousand seven hundred and fifty nine. Barthm Mosse.

Proved 2nd April 1759.

APPENDIX IV

NOTICE OF THE SALE BY AUCTION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE LATE DR. MOSSE

"Pictures, etc., of the Late Dr. Mosse
To be sold by Auction
By Alexander M'Donnell, Auctioneer,
In the Lying-in Hospital in Great Britain Street
To begin on Monday next May 25.

"The Pictures are well chosen, in good condition, the subjects pleasing, and the genuine performance of eminent and antient artists; curious real Indian pictures framed and glazed, being now the fashionable dressingroom ornaments; some picture frames; several metzotinto portraits in sheets, and their copper plate, of the late Rev. Dr. Blachford; several reams of choice writing paper; a large quantity of London crown glass, ready cut for use in proper sizes for prints or windows; a mohogany drawing board and T square; Surgeon's instruments; some genuine balsam capivi; the figure of a woman in childbed, intended for students in Surgery to lecture on; a lottery wheel in miniature; some locks and keys (intended for large lottery wheels) of exquisite workmanship; two silver-mounted swords, a saddle, whip, etc.; several dozens of Hock and Arrack of the best kind, cellared above twelve years; some useful and ornamental china, as well antient as modern; some house-furniture, viz. beds, bedding, chairs, tables, desks, etc., and a complete set of tools fit for a gentleman mechanic for working in wood.

"The sale of pictures will begin each day at one o'clock, the other goods will be sold each day from eleven to that hour. The Hock, Arrack, paper, and surgeon's instruments will be sold on Wednesday; the glass and other articles when desired.

"Catalogues of the pictures may be had at the place of sale, or at the Auctioneer's on Hog Hill. The paintings may be viewed on Friday and Saturday next."

This notice of the sale of the effects of Mosse, copied from Sleater's 'Public Gazetteer' for Tuesday, May 19th, 1761, was discovered too late to be referred to in the text. It affords a striking confirmation of the view we have taken of the many-sidedness of Mosse's attainments, while the reference to the "figure of a woman in childbed, intended for students in Surgery to lecture on," is an indication that Mosse was actually engaged in the teaching of obstetrics. We have never met with a copy of the catalogue of the pictures.

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